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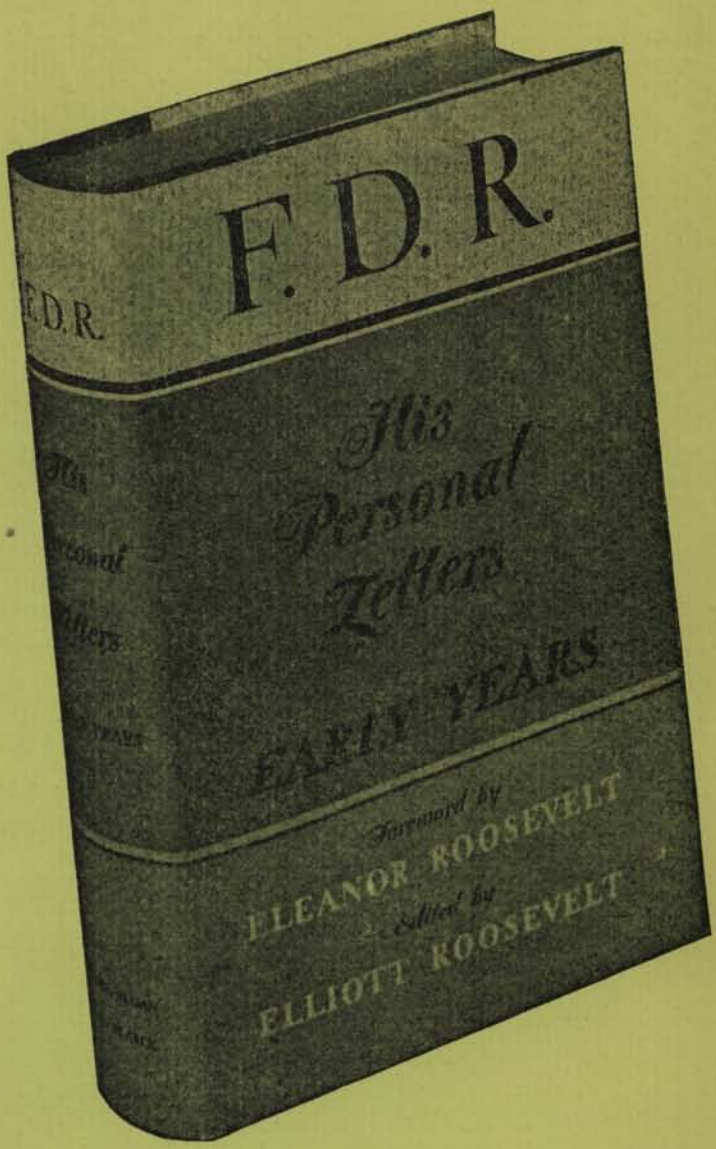

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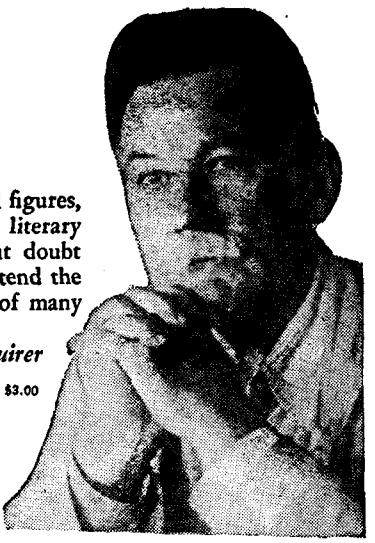

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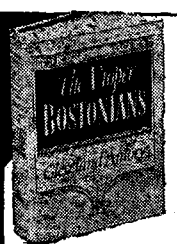

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Winter • 1947–48

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

VOLUME 17 *Winter 1947-48* NUMBER 1

The Crisis and the Scholar

THE NAME of this magazine no doubt scares away many potential readers. A scholar to them is somebody who knows; somebody who knows more than they do or think they ever will. It would be pleasant, and for those potential readers perhaps reassuring, to write a simpler definition: a scholar is somebody who is willing to learn.

We live in an age and a world torn by conflicts. It is not, as the late Wendell Willkie saw it in his somehow now pathetic dream, one world. It is not one age. It is an age and a world struggling to be born. It may come out a monster with two heads and an evil heart. It may come out strong and beautiful and good. How can we be certain? We stand by while fate plays midwife.

Let us not speak at this time of the conflict between that part of the world dominated by Russia and that part not so dominated. There is a deeper conflict, underlying this one. It is the conflict between those whose minds are closed because they are too sure, and those whose minds are confused because they are not really sure of anything. If freedom as we conceive it, democracy as we know it, wavers at this time, it is for this reason: neither is certain of itself.

Because we have lost an old impetus and an old vision, because no new vision has brought a new energy to us, we have ceased to be certain. We are willing to make sacrifices in war. The whole earth is again, as in the old Athenian times, the sepulchre of valiant men. We are willing to make some sacrifices, measured in billions of dollars, in time of peace. But we are not quite certain why.

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We are not certain. Our hearts are right, but we wander in the wildernesses of the mind. The enemies of freedom and democracy are sure, but we are not. We listen to this prophet, then to that. There is great debate, but it is a stirring of leaves in the winter wind. The partnership of the American idealist and the American practical man has not been made manifest. We do not know what to do. We improvise to meet a desperate emergency and call the act a Plan or a Doctrine. We strike out blindly and waste our strength. We are not wise enough. We have not been willing enough to learn.

Thus comes the challenge to the scholar — the man who wants to do right and is willing to study how this may be done. The world has changed, and is changing, with terrible speed. We have our principles. They are sound, as they were in the days of old. Invention cannot of itself diminish the dignity and sanctity of the individual life. But we must submit our methods to a novel scrutiny. We must seek old objectives in new ways.

This magazine is a small item in a turbulence of words. It reaches a comparatively few people. We would like those people to sit down and reason and learn with us. We would like to think that each of them represents a group who are willing to reason and learn. We would like to think that out of this reasoning and learning, here and elsewhere, in magazines, newspapers, books and homes, even on the radio, a new certainty may arise: that out of the confusion we may know how to re-dedicate ourselves to the great principles of freedom.

A scholar — an American scholar — need not be a member of Phi Beta Kappa or even a graduate of a college or university. He can be such if he will open his mind, in this decisive moment, to whatever bears on the great issue of human liberty, and not merely be ready to die for it or give money or food for it, but painfully to learn about it and, by day and in the dark watches of the night, meditate upon it.

R. L. Duffus

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The Moral Challenge of the *Communist Manifesto*

Edmund Fuller

ONE hundred years ago Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels drew up a platform for a secret, international workingmen's association called the Communist League. Published as *The Communist Manifesto*, it opened with the celebrated words: "A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism." Further excerpts from the few paragraphs of the preamble have a curiously familiar sound: "All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre. . . . Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? . . . Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power."

It would be possible to rig up one set of arguments to demonstrate the success of the *Manifesto* by the existence of the Soviet Union, and the existence of Communist parties of various strengths all over the world.

It would be possible also to rig up a set of arguments demonstrating the failure of the *Manifesto* in terms of the general ascendancy of capitalism a hundred years later and the presumed disappointment of Marx's expectancy for the proletarian millennium within some such time.

I do not think the significance of this anniversary is to be uncovered in such an idle debate, or in too much preoccupation with the Soviet Union or the scattered Communist parties of the world. Nor do I think its significance is to be found in an academic

◎ Editor of Crown Publishers, EDMUND FULLER is the author of *A Star Pointed North*, an historical novel about Frederick Douglass. His essay-review, "History and the Novelists," appeared in the Winter 1946–47 number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

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review of the economic or political technicalities of the *Manifesto*. Many specialized critiques of Marxism are available. I am not equipped to attempt another, nor would I wish to do so.

The implications of this anniversary should be, and are, within reach of the layman with a reasonable general background. They do not lie in the technical details, many of which were confessed by Engels to be obsolete when he wrote a preface to a new English translation in 1888, adding, "But then, the *Manifesto* has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

To find the implications of its centenary we must view the *Manifesto* as the profound moral challenge to society that it was, and question the present status of society in relation to that challenge. In trying to do this we shall find it a formidable struggle to penetrate the dense fog of emotionalism and tabu that now surrounds the word "communism." I write as a critic of communism, and as such I venture the opinon that it will someday prove a tragedy that the chief critics and attackers of communism have been allowed to ignore and suppress its moral content and paint a crude, meaningless picture of it as a sink of iniquity.

This crude approach also obscures the fact that capitalist society has incorporated some parts of the Marxist concept. Many of Marx's expectations have been upset by factors unforeseeable by him. Likewise, a good number of his social objectives have been achieved by less drastic means than he thought necessary. Lewis Mumford who, in *The Condition of Man*, makes an excellent review of Marxism, cites "A heavy graduated income tax, abolition of all right of inheritance, centralization of credit in the hands of the state by means of a national bank, centralization of the means of communication and transport," and many other details itemized in the *Manifesto*, as having achieved general acceptance in capitalist society.

The nineteenth century produced two men who may be called prophets in the sense of having secured a following which, on the

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part of many, is downright religious. One of these two, Sigmund Freud, has quite recently been declared in effect the antichrist by Monsignor Sheen for having given universal remission of sins an offer that was not received well in priestly quarters, for that matter, when it was proffered by Jesus.

The Freudian "religion," however, to whatever degree it exists, is still a sect, still a private path to personal salvation. Marx's impact is directly upon our political relations — it is religious — and it has become an established church, a church state with the Soviet Union as the Mother Church.

The religious nature of Marxism (not a recent discovery, of course) is no mere parlor-game analogy. It exists, demonstrably. I propose to examine it a while and shall then attempt to show in this phenomenon what I believe to be the major "hundred years after" significance of *The Communist Manifesto.*

Toynbee, in a brilliant insight, refers to Marxist Communism as a Christian heresy, "a lingering political shadow of a vanished religious belief." Further, "Marx has taken the goddess 'Historical Necessity' in place of Yahweh for his deity, and the internal proletariat of the Western World in place of Jewry for his chosen people, and his Messianic Kingdom is conceived of as a Dictatorship of the Proletariat; but the salient features of the Jewish Apocalypse protrude through this threadbare disguise."

To this we can add that Marxism has its New Testament built around the person and interpretations of Lenin, with Stalin as a kind of unchastened Paul. The Soviet Union and its satellite states display a new iconography in the ubiquitous heroic portraits of Lenin, Stalin and others that unfailingly grace public places and functions. Toynbee has further developed these and other analogies in a manner provocative and stimulating, whether accepted in whole or not.*

Reinhold Niebuhr, notwithstanding a firm anti-Communist and anti-Soviet position, has repeatedly recognized the religious nature and the moral force of communism. In *Moral Man and*

* Compare with statements on the same, or a similar, analogy on pages 40 and 86 of this number. Each of the contributors to this coincidence wrote in complete independence of the others, of course — none even being aware of the existence of the other articles. (*Editor*)

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Immoral Society he says, "The Marxian imagines that he has a philosophy or even a science of history. What he has is really an apocalyptic vision." He contributes to the analogy a discussion of the Communist stress upon catastrophe as the necessary prelude to millenial expectations.

In various denominations of the Protestant church, clergymen well versed in Marxism have classed it as an aspect of "the new comparative religion."

It is fascinating that Marx, after tracing with Germanic thoroughness the course of history as class struggle, should have concluded with a fantastic "pie in the sky" promise of a classless, stateless society which would be, in effect, the end of history. As Mumford says, "Marx spewed out all the utopian minnows only to swallow an ideological whale."

There is another point in common in the eschatology of early Christianity and of early Marxism. It is quite apparent, if one reads carefully the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of the evangelists, that the early Christian band expected the millennium within their lifetimes or shortly thereafter. The note of "the coming of the Lord draweth nigh," and "behold, I come quickly" is reiterated far too often, in far too literal contexts, for us to think otherwise. Less explicitly, but by a prevailing tone, one senses that Marx felt the proletarian apotheosis to be not only inevitable but relatively near at hand in the rapidly moving industrial revolution. It is questionable whether, without some such conviction, either theoretician or rank-and-file revolutionary could endure the struggle and the wait.

Society abhors a moral vacuum as nature does a physical one. Such a vacuum existed in Marx's day, and exists today, due to the withering up of Christianity and Judaism as social religions and vital moral forces.

The moral vacuum of Marx's time sucked in the revolutionary whirlwinds that swept over Europe in 1848. Men were frightened then as they are frightened now. Masses of them were desperate then as they are desperate now. And the revolutionary ferment arose out of the highly moral ideal that the world should be a decent place to live in for all of mankind.

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Men cannot face with absolute self-sufficiency the decisions and burdens of everyday living, let alone those of crisis. They require a point of focus, a source of reference, a measure of standards, and a judge, not to mention spiritual nourishment, each after his kind. If, for instance, a man ceases to say "Christ teaches us . . ." we are quite likely to find him saying, "Freud teaches us . . ." or "Marx teaches us. . . ."

But when we invest the figure of Christ with divinity we liberate the historic personality that was Christ from an insupportable burden. This etherialization of an ideal protects it from the smudge of mortality. It makes a kind of reservoir which collective man replenishes continually through his spiritual insights, and from which individual man draws his needed portion of spiritual sustenance.

As for mortal man, admittedly of the earth earthy, he may be a great leader, a great teacher, but he is not adequate in his person or in his concepts, singly or in group, as an *absolute* moral focus. This is the genuine menace of secular religions, laying claim to that absolutism.

Marx's secular religion, uncurbed by the chastening sense of the existence of God, sought to establish a type of lofty but altogether materialist ethic which always begins a process of deterioration toward harsh, ruthless, doctrinaire fanaticism the instant after it is first propounded. Men have, in fact, committed enough "righteous" evils in the name of God to leave little doubt about the enormities of which they are capable, when constrained by the name of Man alone.

The difference between the godless religions and the religions of God appears most characteristically in the tendency of the former to despise the individual and of the latter to cherish him. Our bourgeois society, as Marx charged, has done much to destroy the individual, in spite of our lip service to the religious attitude. It has destroyed him in many subtle and terrible ways even where it has left him with the most complete machinery for political democracy. Marx called for "an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Modern Marxism has largely, if not wholly, lost

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this central vision in a grim statism and party-line-ism except in the notable aspect of the Soviet Union's generally conceded triumph of morality in race relations.

Tragically, our so-called capitalist society has been so frightened by the economic implications of Marxism with its threat to profits and property that it has fought it with stupid and sometimes shameful methods. We have preferred and magnified, along with a number of undoubted virtues, all the shoddiest and most complacent aspects of our prevailing business philosophy which, Bruce Barton dissenting, is simply incompatible with our ostensible Christianity.

Recently Senator Taft added his voice to those of political leaders in both major parties with the assertion that if we are to meet communism successfully we must "eliminate its influence." How can we do this if we refuse to recognize, or at least to admit, the one real source of its influence? Harold Laski has said, "Communism has made its way by its idealism and not by its realism, by its spiritual promise, not its materialistic prospects."

We have rejected the one great weapon, for fear it might — and it might, at that — prove as revolutionary as the adversary. This weapon would be to take and make our own, in a vigorous radical Christianity (and Judaism, or religious channel of any man's choosing), the moral content of Marxism in which is its great strength. Instead, we have allowed Marxism to make of this morality a secular religion inevitably and dangerously subverted and perverted through lack of the godhead which a religion must have.

We began by noting certain parallels with today in the preamble of the *Manifesto*. Now let's look at some of Marx's charges against the bourgeoisie: ". . . it has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm . . . in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless . . . freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom — Free Trade."

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Does none of this evoke recognition in our era of high-powered diplomacy, politics, advertising, press, movies, radio, monopolies: our era of NAM's and of unions approaching monopoly size? Do we come into court against these charges with hands clean?

Another charge of notable interest: "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers."

What do we say to this when we have seen an era in which "idealist" is a political epithet, in which "longhair" is a current gibe at the artist or scholar, "intellectual" is a dubious label, and in which "professor" is the ultimate sneer in our Senate's vocabulary of contempt and abuse?

The hundredth anniversary of *The Communist Manifesto's* appearance finds us facing its ideology in an infinitely more powerful and ruthless manifestation. It finds us still sluggish on the moral level except for hopeful and desperately needed moral stirrings among ethically sensitive individuals, growing minority groups of militant and vigorous churchmen, and the embattled scientists who pulled the stopper out of a certain bottle.

No longer just Europe, but the world at large and the United States in particular are now haunted by a specter. It should be a matter of horror for sane men that one hundred years after *The Communist Manifesto* we find a majority of our people tacitly assuming that we shall sooner or later solve the problem by dropping atom bombs on the *Manifesto's* godchild.

What an answer to a moral challenge!

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A Biologist Looks at War

Paul A. Zahl

FOR THE origin of strife or warfare — be it aggressive, defensive or rebellious — we must look back a billion or so years, when the great mist shrouds were rolling aside enough to let sunlight through, and life was beginning to stir on this planet.

The first clearly defined life on earth consisted of single cells, almost identical to some of the unicellular algae found today as "living fossils" teeming in any stagnant pond or in any tide pool. In those primordial days, when microscopic single-cell creatures were the sole inhabitants of the earth, there was no such thing as social organization. The social sense — that is, individual subservience to group well-being — had not yet appeared. Each single cell was an absolute and autonomous individual. It breathed for itself, it ate for itself, metabolized for itself, and reproduced for itself.

The only strife possible in such a world was that between individuals. But individuals in those days had developed no weapons; indeed, why should they, since the procurement of food was not competitive? Most of the organisms derived their energy photosynthetically from sunlight; and there must have been much microscopic jostling and pushing on the part of those quasi-motile cells to get into the energy-bearing beams which in increasing intensity were filtering through the ever-thinning cloud banks.

This, then, was the first sort of "warfare" on earth — a warfare hardly worthy of the name. The principle may be illustrated in the laboratory by placing some of these living Arche-

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ozoic "fossils" into a test tube through which is projected a narrow beam of light. Only those cells which can make their way into the energy-carrying beam will thrive and reproduce. When the available light space is congested, a contest ensues; and only those maintaining their positions will survive. The prime significance of this behavior lies in the fact that it is not directed by one individual seeking to destroy another, and that in it there is no element of conquest or subjugation. The individual cell of the Archeozoic had means for slow locomotion, but it had no weapons: no fangs, tusks, horns or claws.

It was only when life set aside the concept of individualism as its sole guiding principle and began to experiment with the social idea, that warfare in its more literal sense began to develop.

This experimentation with the social idea came about in a curious way; for in those days there seems to have been a "choice" possible between two fundamental ways of life. One lured the microbial inhabitants of the planet to stay as they were: to remain individualistic, autonomous, non-cooperative. Many, in fact most, of those primitive creatures heeded this call; and today, about a billion years later, their direct descendants are the single-cell animals and plants which every high school student of biology has seen under his microscope. But their choice of individualism carried with it the penalty of unchanging social stability. They developed no higher.

Other single cells, in those pre-ancient days when life was choosing sides, elected to cooperate with one another, dared to sell their autonomy for a group fidelity. These became the ancestors of present-day multicellular plants and animals, including man. Indeed, the origin of emergent evolution on this planet lies in the "choice" on the part of these first microorganisms to socialize into cell groups of two, four, eight, sixteen, etc.

As the millions of years rolled by, and the earth went through its geological upheavals, and the forces of variation and selection spotlighted themselves on earth's new living matter, these groupings became larger and functionally more complicated — some of the cells specializing in reproductive functions, others in excretory, communicative, muscular, digestive. Great physiological

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labor unions, led by powerful chemical organizers, set themselves up within each multicellular organism; and cells, in functioning according to their appointed specialties, most frequently became altered in structure as well. This grouping and specialization proclivity led the myriad citizens of each cell society so far up the road toward self-renunciation and division of labor that there came to be buried deep in every gene of every cell of every body a compulsion which drove it to an unquestioning willingness to accept its particular type of subjugation, to become a one-job specialist, a voiceless member of a teeming cooperative internally regulated with inexorable severity.

With the exploitation of the social possibility among evolving cells, came the abandonment of light as a primary source of energy.* No animals above the social protozoan *Volvox* retained photosynthesis as a source of food. At this crucial point in evolution, therefore, animals began preying on one another for sustenance. And with the new and deadly free-for-all came the need for predatory and defensive struggle.

To meet the challenge of competition for food, the first animals developed within their primitive multicellular bodies a new type of cell specialization. Throughout the stormy course of evolution, while some of the body cell-citizens were being regimented into innocuous enough intestine cells, or liver cells, or nerve cells, others were constrained to develop into, say, enamel cells — and sharp and dangerous teeth appeared in the jungles and forests of the previously peaceful planet. Still others became specialized

* It is true, on the other hand, that most single-cell animals (amoebae, paramecia, and the like) and many single-cell plants (bacteria, yeasts) living today have also abandoned light as a source of energy. The protozoa sprang originally from the earliest algae line, as did the bacteria; and many of them, in addition to abandoning photosynthesis, have during the subsequent course of evolution undergone marked differentiations in structure *within* their single-cell bodies. Furthermore, the survival success of the single-cell bacteria and protozoa, in the face of environmental upheavals occurring on all sides during the last billion years, gives fairly unequivocal evidence that individualism in terms of survival is biologically just as efficient as is socialization. But with the rejection of the social idea, they have not risen (except intracellularly) above the single-cell organisms from which they are derived. Many of them have developed within their single-cell bodies weapon structures which give them aggression advantages over the other microbes on which they prey as a source of food. Some protozoa have even devised a type of defensive chemical warfare, involving the excretion into the surrounding medium of materials, non-toxic to themselves, but lethal to predators. This principle has also been used successfully as a defensive agent among some of the multi-cellular organisms, most notable, perhaps, being the mold, *Penicillium*.

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into tough hide — as an antidote to the teeth of any attacking foe. In the great struggle for existence which (since the rejection of light as a primary energy source and the quasi-acceptance of the social idea) has characterized animal life on this planet, there came an incredible array of horns, claws, talons, teeth, beaks, fangs, poison glands, stings; and finely integrated nervous systems with which to direct the use of these weapons. Defensive structures developed in parallel or in step-wise fashion. And with a fury — warfare was introduced on this planet.

The higher plants, as multicellular aggregates having chosen the sedentary way of life, did not develop weapons of aggression. There was no need to, since plants continued to obtain their vital energy from sunlight. The only aggression to be found among plants or trees is of the same sort exhibited by the earliest algae — that is, struggle for optimal light or struggle for optimal water or soil chemicals. "Warfare" among the higher multicellular plants, therefore, as among the lower single-cell plants, consists only of crowding and pushing. One sees dogwood crowding out some of the lowlier plants in a field; or weeds competing for the soil in which the lawn should grow. This competition, even though it does involve starvation and death for some of the competitors, is only circumstantial and positional.

It was the need for seeking food, and the consequent development of more efficient mechanisms for locomotion, that led the multicellular animals to select weapons of aggression, and to engage in food-seeking strife with one another. Such struggle characterizes all organisms whose sources of nutrient are the devoured tissues of other animals and plants.

Herbivorous animals are in constant "aggression" against the grasses which grow on the hillsides or plains. This is the most one-sided "warfare" known. Carnivores, on the other hand, prey on other animals, usually on those whose armaments are not as effectively developed as their own. The tiger, for example, will not prey on another equally armed tiger (except, perhaps, during sexual competition). He chooses rather to prey on the fawn or the pig, or on some less armored creature. This too, then, is pitifully one-sided warfare. Preparation pays off well in nature.

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Warfare at this level of evolution consists, then, of aggressive or defensive strife between single animals, and is motivated proverbially by a compulsion for individual survival, induced by the need for food.

This truism must be re-interpreted, however, if one begins viewing the animal body as a society of billions of cells, regimented and organized into complex systems and organs. When considered in this light, the phenomenon of a tiger attacking a fawn becomes the most consummate type of social warfare possible; for the tiger's body is in reality a state of cell-specialists keyed and geared for absolute conquest. Millions of enamel cell-citizens of the tiger-state lie prepared as an ever-ready arsenal for spearheading the attack. If the aggressed-upon fights back, he will have to piercethe close-rank cells which constitute the tiger's tough hide or the reptile's hard scaly armor. Each living organism-state has regimented a large proportion of its cell-citizens into war machinery, and is always on the alert for opportunistic or defensive warfare. Indeed, the spectrum of life, as seen in any zoo, represents the most ghastly armament race this planet has ever seen. Each animal species living today obviously has survived because its specialized cell battalions have equipped it advantageously over some other species, and its defense legions have been equally successful against its natural enemies.

In addition to aggression and defense among animals, there is yet another type of warfare which can occur only *within* highly integrated cell societies — that is, civil rebellion on the part of some of the component cell-citizens against the society of which they are supposed to be cooperating members. This warfare is quiet, insidious and deadly. Occasionally, for reasons not at all understood, a few cells somewhere in the organization come to have a weird, perhaps chromosomal-memory flashback to the days a billion years ago when they existed as free individuals in warm Archeozoic seas. Or perhaps the controls within the body become relaxed or defective. In any case these dissenting cells recall the good old days when there was no subjugation, no regimentation — when cells divided and metabolized constantly and freely, unlike their behavior in the body-state, where cells

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may divide and metabolize only at a rate and in a manner prescribed by the control agencies.

This nostalgia may, at length, overcome the previous fidelity which the cells have had to the group, and they begin yielding and acting like their single-cell ancestors, casting aside the laws of benign subjugation under which they had been serving in the body. The possibility for cells to organize into regimented state-bodies has been abroad on the planet since the early Archeozoic, a billion years ago. But always there have been internal backsliders to individualism, fully capable in their malingering of destroying the whole organization. Cancer may occur in plants, in fish, in birds, in amphibia, in mammals — right across the board. And statistics show that among human beings one out of every seven must die, a victim to this type of internal warfare.

II

We have said that far back in the misty origins of life on this planet certain cells abandoned individualism as a principle for living and began socializing into groups. And that with the passing of time these groups of de-individualized cells became larger and more complex, and more and more tightly regimented, until today they exist as walking societies of myriad subjugated cell-citizens, cooperating to form what we know as ant, mouse, dog, man. Each organism is a composite individual, itself consisting of a billion or more de-autonomized individuals.

Relatively late in the history of living things on the earth, this trend toward collaboration has given evidence in three notable instances of beginning to manifest itself in another way. Certain organisms — themselves tightly regimented masses of specialized cells — have set themselves up into yet higher social groupings. This "second-phase" socialization has begun to express itself among only three animal groups, not at all among the plants.

Lowest on the evolutionary ladder to exhibit it are certain members of the jellyfish phylum which have banded together into quasi-tribal units. For example, the Portuguese-man-of-war — an ultra-jellyfish — is in reality a tribal unit consisting of several jellyfish individuals which have joined up into one co-

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ordinated whole. A specialization, in both function and structure, has occurred — so that one component member is concerned with keeping the tribe afloat, another with reproduction, another with capturing and digesting food, etc. Yet, the composite of these former individuals — now but component parts, with little of their former independence and autonomy remaining — has become the greater individual.

The next appearance of this second-phase type of socialization is among certain of the insects. Ants and bees have developed a social compulsion which natural philosophers since the time of Solomon have described in anthropomorphic terms. So well known are these ants-and-men analogies, that little more need be said about the social insects than that they have impressed upon themselves a regimentation entailing sharp division of labor, centralized control, and true mass warfare. These two groups, then — the social jellyfish and the social insects — somewhere along the course of their evolution made a fundamental decision analogous to that of the earliest algae: desertion of individualism in favor of socialization.

And man is the third and highest animal species to experiment with the second-phase type of socialization.

The whole thing looks like a grand cyclicity of which, in our purblindness, we can see only two phases. The first — a possibility for cells to de-individualize and integrate themselves into regimented organisms, called bodies. The second — a possibility for the multicellular bodies so produced, also to de-individualize and become integrated into social organisms, called societies.

With this second phase of social emergence, bloodshed continues to keynote life. For between societies there exists a survival-tension, just as there has perennially existed a survival-tension between individuals. There is strife among small social groups, strife among highly organized states.

In its least complicated aspect, this element of group strife is almost wholly motivated by the struggle for survival in competition for food sources. In its more complicated aspect, strife among social groups also has a basic "economic" compulsion, leading often to pressures which impel conquests to acquire

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resources possessed by neighboring states. But in addition there have appeared some other motivating elements, whose nature is obscure, and which may exist as reflections of a vague group egoism or desire for aggrandizement of the greater whole.

As corollaries to such quasi-egoistical wars of conquest, come wars of revolution. For a group, having engaged in successful conquest, has most often in human history failed to integrate its new subjects into a non-irritating pattern. In cases where the victor-subject complex follows conquest, almost always the subject groups will strive to throw off the yoke, in the hope of setting up new group organizations with new sets of social ideals.

In its most complicated aspect, the element of strife arises *de novo* from within presumably stabilized groups; that is, if special ideological peculiarities develop (cause unknown, like that of cancer) within an organized group to the point where internal pressures become intolerable, then anarchistic movements will be initiated to overthrow the dominant state form, leading often to chaos in the entire set-up.

While all these types of warfare and their defense corollaries are to be found among and within human social groups, be they of tribal or of empire dimensions, only wars of conquest and subjugation have been observed among the social insects. Revolution and civil war are not to be found there, probably because in this group a dissenting or reverting individual, having from birth been deprived of its reproductive powers, cannot multiply into any sort of revolting group. In addition, psychological rapport has not developed to a high enough degree among the social insects to permit proselytization of conforming citizens. Any individual, therefore, choosing to resist the dictates of the colony-state, becomes a lone deserter, and so having lost the protective and nutritional advantages of colony membership, perishes, alone and forgotten. The state goes on undisturbed. The lowest colonial forms — jellyfishes — have not been studied in sufficient detail to warrant speculation as to whether their existence involves warfare of types other than those of food acquisition and defense.

It should perhaps be noted that such gregarious manifestations as a flock of birds, a school of fish, or a herd of buffalo, are, accord-

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ing to our present definition, not social, for among them there has been no subjugation of the individual. These loose groupings must be considered broadly in the same social category as a forest of trees or a culture of teeming bacteria. They represent merely companies of individuals thrown together because of a common birth locale or because of a common food source, and held together by a vague sort of species recognition which we call gregariousness. There is no organization among the component individuals of such associations, little or no division of labor, little or no selfless contribution to the common good. As a consequence, there can be no group warfare among such gregarious non-social species. A herd of buffalo has never charged another herd of buffalo, nor has one flock of crows attacked another flock of crows. A group of big fish attacking a group of smaller fish is not warfare, in the usually accepted sense of the word, for no organizational or concerted effort is involved. Each individual of the school is subserving only its own predatory ends. Such phenomena as those typified by adult musk-oxen encircling their young when threatened by predators, are purely sexual protective patterns.

III

We have said that among all multicellular animals, only a few so far in evolution have begun responding, in its secondary aspect, to the deepseated lure for individuals to sell their autonomy for a broader social fidelity. And we have said that these second-phase social experimenters, like their first-phase cellular prototypes, live in a perpetual milieu of organized strife — against each other, against foreign species. Such resemblances between the first and second phases of social life among evolving organisms, as well as the many other more functional similarities, suggest a close relationship between the two phases of what appears to stand out as an age-long social cyclicity among living things. The first phase has been essentially completed for many organisms. The second phase has been entered by but three groups. May we, as actuaries do, postulate the course of an uncompleted cycle from the shape of a completed preceding or parallel cycle? Do we analogically thus have a means for setting down a

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reasonable guess as to man's social future and the meaning and denouement of his perennial wars? With due awareness of the pitfalls of analogical thinking, it is of interest to probe the course of future events as suggested by such an analogy.

The human species has during the last 5000 years just begun to pass into its second social phase. It has certainly not advanced very far as yet, when compared to the absolute regimentation attained by cells within the multicellular body prototype, or even to the social insects which elected their second phase some millions of years ago. Nevertheless, the Hitler-Haushofer aspiration appeared to point in the direction of absolute social control of the individual, as do some other present-day ideologies. The downfall of Caesar, the dissolution of the Alexandrine state, the collapse of Nazi and Japanese hopes — these should not delude us into comfortably believing that human society is incapable ultimately of absolute regimentation — or that, indeed, it can't happen here. These notorious attempts at de-individualizing masses of people into tightly controlled socio-military organizations may merely have been abortive symptoms of a pressure which throughout history has been on the threatening increase, but which could not exploit itself fully until mass communication had reached a higher degree of effectiveness. The emergence of the nerve method of communication and the endocrine principle of cell and tissue control were the two great evolutionary innovations which underlay the exploitation of first-phase socialization among cells during the last billion years. In the modern human era, with its rapidly evolving techniques for communication and mass idea control, perhaps man has found an analogously effective touchstone for hurrying his gene-inherent propensity toward second-phase socialization.

Neanderthal man and his collaterals fifty thousand years ago were largely individualists. Four and three thousand years ago, with the incipience of spoken and written language, man came to bind himself into loosely organized groups. Two and one thousand years ago, he was impelled to agglutinate himself into cities, nations and empires, with harbingers of division of labor and de-individualization becoming clearly evident. Today, we see him

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ostensibly resisting regimentation and praying for "freedom" and "individualism"; but we also see what appears to be an irresistible trend toward constantly increasing labor organization and specialization, toward restriction of the individual's previous autonomy, toward a regimentation growing tighter and tighter — paradoxically in the name of freedom, and often under the banner of democracy.

In the present world scene we see the human population of the planet divided into several score of national groups, which, during inter-bellum periods, are kept from one another's throats only by temporary armament balances. History draws the ghastly picture of how these balances are upset; how the spear defeated the club, the bow and arrow defeated the spear, the musket the bow and arrow . . . right down to the present atomic bomb and its obsoletizing effect. How similar all this seems to the armament race among animals during the last billion years of evolution, and to the arsenal review which is every natural history museum. The nations of the earth — the multi-human organisms — are, like the animal organisms before them, all struggling for self-preservation, although generalized economic motives have most often replaced the specific food motive. With the emergence and demonstrable effectiveness of technology, most of the nations are becoming more highly regimented and armed; or if not armed, they are at least in the "protective" sphere of some powerful organization which is. That a good fighting organism must be internally regimented and tightly directed has become a military as well as a biological truism.

The competitive nation-organisms have since the dawn of social history progressively become fewer, larger and more socialistically complex — until now, in the middle of the twentieth century, almost all have been absorbed into a few powerfully opposed dominant groupings. These seem to be sparring for the final position of single dominance in the world. One has but little doubt that there will be at least one more large-scale war between the last two dominant political set-ups — both fighting blindly, both driven by the same fundamental urges, both motivated by essentially the same ends. From the handwriting on the biological

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wall, as well as from the utterances of many liberal political philosophers, these sparrings and probable convulsions may be interpreted as pointing toward an ultimate One-World state.

What advocates of the One-World state have perennially failed to appreciate is that achievement and maintenance of this end-point in man's social evolution would involve control and regimentation of the component groups and citizens to a degree which might at length approach that found among the cell-citizens, the tissue-agencies, the organ-bureaus, and the system-departments of the cellular organism.

Are we, after a mere five thousand years of social emergence, seeing human society entering its last pre-One-World spasm? Is the world going into the One-Organism condition, with its *sine qua non* of de-individualization and regimentation? Are the liberal thinkers who dream of the glorious and peaceful One World promulgating a social organism in which individual "freedom" would be a controlled and issued commodity? Are they unwitting spokesmen for the great trend in biological heritage toward de-autonomy and internal control?

If the answer to these questions lies in the affirmative, then during the years and centuries to come — slowly passing out of the social womb — will arise a vast, integrated, planetary society: the One World, finely regimented, its citizenry happy and contented in the same sense that cells in the body are happy and contented. With the final attainment of this highest level of social organization, there could be no further wars of conquest or aggrandizement, for there would be no enemy or competitor nations with whom to fight. On the other hand, even though wars of conquest were obviated, the one dangerous strife possibility remaining in the brave new world would be that of social cancer — analogous to the reversion to primitive individualism which may occur among the cell-citizens of the animal body. Cure for this, however, would come, along with man's understanding of the now-hidden social forces which play on human society: just as surely as will a cure for clinical cancer be achieved in a far less remote future, when more has become known about the chemo-social forces within the body.

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The human being of that millennial day will presumably have grown socially, biologically and subjectively to understand himself — with a new set of values, motivations and illusions replacing the inconsistent and schizophrenic ones of today. It is evident that faith, religion and illusion are characteristics of the human mind, and not quantitative entities. It is hardly correct to say that they, during their long dominance in human thought, have failed. They, in fact, led us into what we now designate as science and rationalism. Nor are science and rationalism anything but further characteristics of the human mind. These too will maturate. Out of the chaos which technology has seemingly created in this present-day world, may ultimately come a most consummate level of order.

Perhaps with the flowering of science, the life-span of the human individual will be extended indefinitely, and individual reproduction controlled both in quantity and quality. Perhaps man's primitive curiosity and self-consciousness, having passed through various stages of pragmatic science and arbitrary morals, will at length emerge onto a level of creative illumination, tempered to the individual, tempered to the group. Perhaps the One World will have become the One Organism.

But, while all this is going on, what if man runs amuck — and atomic warfare breaks out? Would not the resulting devastation cause all scientific research and spiritual aspiration to be stopped permanently in its tracks? One's optimistic reaction to this commonly expressed fear springs from the hope that although man may wreck a considerable portion of his civilization in one or more of his Armageddons, his inherent will to survive should prevent him from committing acts or releasing energies which might lead to mass or cultural suicide.

If the answer lies in the negative . . . if the social manifestations of man and the lower organisms are unrelated; and if, in fact, there exists a transcendent or supra-biological element affecting man's destiny — then there is no rational basis for insight into his future or into the meaning and denouement of his wars.

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A Last Respect

Wallace Aitchison

I

Then after the delphinium in the hall,
The trumpet vine,
The almost mystic rise and fall
Of blue jays in the slanted shafts
Of summer haze,
The family faces straining for some small
Substantial fragment pitted at the core
Past, present, and forever more
Of God and Man which closed the door;
Then after the alignment of these hopes
Against the glum Manila envelope's
Sealed mystery,
The passing of each wonder-freighted mile
And ebbing of the last "a little while"
Out to the unknown, vast, impersonal sea;
Then after that first packed, conglomerate view,
New day and night, a gradual four or five,
The massive, muffled, hesitant "I do,"
And still alive;
A wasted unspontaneous game of ball
Thrown in between,
The endless trainride with the rowdy call
For womankind wherever seen;
Then at the end and the beginning,
After all,
The South seemed strange and very far away.

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II

Beat, beat, beat, beat
Dusty shoes and sultry heat;
Everlasting column of two's,
Dusty heat and sultry shoes.
Swivel arms and clip ejectors,
Compensating bolt connectors,
Barracks, bugles, and the beat,
Matchsticks in the cinder street,
With the weather,
Piece together.
With a cadence all their own,
Standing, kneeling, sitting, prone,
Days repeat
Rhythms, rhymes.
We had wiped the toilet seat
So many times —
"See you after the war," he said.
You always say, "Good luck,
See you after the war."

III

Death go easy as you roam
To your swollen harvest home.
Though your husbandry is hurled
Through this whirlwind of the world
With eminence which never more
Unalterably has wheeled before,
While your titled claims accrue
We require your soul of you.
Though your warrants cleave the air,
Comb the land, and plumb the seas,
Fall upon unworthy knees
In humility and prayer.

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Abnegation from that first
Fateful protoplasmic burst
Of cell and membrane vivified.
Raised incarnate, set to ride,
Dismal hunter, grinning ghost
Harrying from pillar to post;
Or shrunk from mighty down to mild
Sweetly singing to the child.
We have seen you and we know
There is little fact in show.
The palsy eye, the frenzied stance,
The tambourine to whoop the dance
Of kings and beggars at your knell
Is obsolete materiel.

Death fall lowly, fast and pray.
We have given you this day.
Unmeasured man with open eye
Surmounts the earth, the sea, the sky
To strike his destiny and render
You his silent self-surrender.
Torn from your pretensions, backed
To the merest matter of fact,
Take him to your static side
And by his worth be sanctified.
Take him as the certain sign
That eternal life expands
From the product of his hands,
And let light perpetual shine.

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IV

Slow night wind
Whispers in the myrtle shaken
Petals fall in the sharp grass.

Hear the rush of the ever changing
Sweep of life, the restless ranging
Surge from a static source forsaken
To strike a course again to awaken
Life again.
Hear the hush of the life fulfilled
In the instant taken.

Vivisected world,
Your need besought, betrayed, bemuddled.
Will the heart of this desire
Free you from unfailing fire?
Silent petals fall
After the delphinium in the hall.
Hold, ho! Lights here!
Here, cousin, seize the crown!

Behold, I come quickly.

Son of God, we beseech thee to hear us.

◎ WALLACE AITCHISON is a graduate student at Columbia University and an instructor in the Columbia School of General Studies.

This poem was written in memory of Theron Griggs Platt, Lieutenant, USAAF, who was killed in November, 1942, on a combat mission over New Guinea.

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Monsignor Sheen and Mrs. Luce

Fanny Sedgwick Colby

MANY Americans, including Catholics, have been troubled by two public utterances made by leading Catholics last spring. One was a series of three articles in *McCall's Magazine*, written by Clare Boothe Luce on the subject of her conversion to the Roman Catholic Church. The other was a sermon on "Psychoanalysis and Confession," preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral by Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, who was influential in Mrs. Luce's turning to Catholicism.

These two statements, partially similar in content, prompt any thoughtful reader to wonder about the attitude of the Church toward the psychological, social and other predicaments of contemporary society. How is it meeting the moral challenge of a chaotic world?

Let us look at the record. Monsignor Sheen's sermon contained a strong attack on the "particular type of psychoanalysis called Freudianism." He later pointed out that he had not censured psychiatry, or psychoanalysis in general, which he asserted had "rediscovered on its fringes the doctrine of original sin." His charge against "Freudianism" was that it is based on "materialism, hedonism, infantilism and eroticism." The press quoted him as saying that Freudian psychoanalysts become "angry" if a patient "avows arid wastes of purity," and further that the term known in analysis as "transference" consists of "the transfer of the affections to the analyst" and is a "method" which is "only used when the patient is a young and very beautiful woman. It is never found to work among the ugly or the poor."

Monsignor Sheen delivered his sermon on March 9. Shortly

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thereafter, Dr. Frank J. Curran, chief psychiatrist at St. Vincent's Hospital and a Catholic, resigned — explaining that he had done so because the Catholic hierarchy in New York had failed to clarify or repudiate an attack reported to have been made by Monsignor Sheen on the whole field of psychiatry. He stated that the sermon had caused a great many Catholic patients to feel that they could not properly consult a psychiatrist for aid. This news, together with a protest against the sermon by three other Catholic psychiatrists, was finally reported in the press on July 21.

From the Church came one reply. It did not mention Monsignor Sheen. "We know of Dr. Curran's resignation," said Cardinal Spellman's secretary, the Very Rev. Walter P. Kellenberg, "and we know that it was accepted at St. Vincent's hospital. Dr. Curran's services will not be required in any institution of the Archdiocese of New York. However, he will not be refused admittance as a patient to any institution of the Archdiocese if he so desires." In view of the circumstances, this statement — at least to this writer — contains shocking implications.

About this time the Monsignor issued a somewhat startling rebuttal. Disturbed by the "grave distortion" of his sermon, he cited chapter and verse to show how he had been misquoted. He had made no earlier public correction of the newspaper reports, he said, because at first he felt "the matter was of no great significance."

This statement aroused Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie, chairman of the public education committee of the New York Psychoanalytic Institute, who had already taken pains to point out the Monsignor's misuse of clinical terms. "Two days after the sermon was delivered," he announced, "we wrote to Monsignor Sheen asking for a copy of the sermon. On March 21 he replied: 'There are never any written copies made of any of my sermons.' On July 21, however, four months later, he quotes an entire paragraph which he calls 'the first paragraph of my sermon.' We cannot fail to be perplexed by the miraculous memory that can produce verbatim a paragraph from a sermon, which was never written down, four months after its delivery."

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The rest of the Monsignor's statement, while less spectacular, was no less light-hearted. He explained that he did not quarrel with psychiatry — a "perfectly valid science dealing with definite types of mental diseases" — but only with Freudian psychoanalysis. To support his point, he reported that "within the last two months" he had sent several persons to Dr. Bernard L. Pacella, whom he believed "to be the outstanding psychiatrist in New York City." He concluded with a torrent of dubiously humorous quips and — to quote Dr. Kubie — "a very confusing array of irrelevant pseudo-analogies."

To say that psychiatry is only for "definite types of mental diseases" is inaccurate and misleading. Monsignor Sheen must know that such remarks will hinder many persons who may need aid from seeking it. As for Freud, he conceived and developed our basic psychoanalytic theory. Jung, Allers and Adler, whose methods received the Monsignor's qualified blessing, were pupils of Freud, although they may differ with him in their interpretations of his discoveries.

Even more seriously misleading is the Monsignor's reported definition, in his sermon, of the exact term "transference." Dr. Kubie explains that this is "the process which makes some one unwittingly react to John as though he were Tom, to Mary as though she were Jane." In other words, the neurotic patient, through fear, becomes confused in a personal relationship because of some compulsive inner pattern. "Transference," writes Dr. Kubie, "is a universal phenomenon. It plays some role in every human relationship. . . . It is one of several forces which distort human relationships by giving rise to inappropriate feelings, making people hate those against whom they have no grievance, love those for whom they have no valid basis for affection, and fear those who are no threat to them."

This is an important definition in its own right, but it points to at least two other serious general implications. First, that civilizations and organizations, through the standardized reactions of the individuals that comprise them, may "transfer," may subjectify emotions, and behave in a neurotic manner. Second, that although we used to watch the manifestations of an ideology such

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as fascism as if they were a separate horror in which we could have no part, we now know that they are symptomatic expressions of an illness from which all of us can suffer.

"When we are clear in heart and mind — only then shall we find the courage to surmount the fear which haunts the world," writes Einstein. Camus, the young French writer, who calls our era "the age of fear," tells us that we cannot run away from fear, but must face it to lose it. We must, he says, "consistently oppose to power the force of example; to authority, exhortation; to insult, friendly reasoning; to trickery, simple honor." And from Virginia Woolf, during an air raid in England, came a prayer dedicated to us all: "Let us drag up into consciousness the subconscious Hitler that holds us down."

Einstein, Camus and Virginia Woolf ask us to do only what most serious people in the world today know must be done within ourselves if we are to survive at all. Nevertheless, there are many of us who are yet so fearful of the realities which must be faced that we cannot achieve that goal without some help. Analysts and many churchmen realize this, and are anxious to help. Says Dr. Kubie: "The integration of the psychiatric and the religious approach to human problems is of such great importance that we made our original answer to Monsignor Sheen with the sincere hope that it would bring us closer together, that it would make clear the very large areas of agreement and certain areas of honest and mutually respectful disagreement. Therefore, we are deeply disappointed and also perplexed both by the tone and the content of Monsignor Sheen's recent reply. . . ."

II

Mrs. Luce extends the sphere of hostilities into other areas as well. Moreover, by a repetitive, even if inadvertent, pattern of racial spotlighting, her articles leave with the careful reader an impression that responsibility for our present spiritual inadequacy rests not only on Freud, but as well on other outstanding thinkers of Jewish origin. Indeed, it would be possible for a careful reader to come to the reluctant conclusion that Mrs. Luce's thesis is this: We Christian innocents have been duped into our

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present godless condition by the unholy triumvirate of Communism, Psychoanalysis and Relativity. These three, symbolized by Marx, Freud and Einstein, are the result of the messianic impulse of the religiously frustrated Jewish ego.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Luce, like the Monsignor, has been careless about accuracy. One is tempted to state that she is dispensing a smattering of pseudo-knowledge on subjects whose weight she is not muscularly qualified to lift. Moreover, in her search for confirmatory authority, she employs quotations out of context, and even embellishes on them — a practice not recommended by scrupulous writers.

As an example, I quote in full her reference to Bertrand Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*. The passage from Mrs. Luce's article reads: "Marx, born of orthodox Jewish parents like Freud had been unable to excise his 'most insistent wishes' for a religious structure in society. Says Bertrand Russell: 'The Jewish pattern of history . . . is such as to make a powerful appeal to the oppressed and unfortunate at all times.' To understand the religious appeal of Marxism he suggested this dictionary:

"God: Dialectical Materialism
The Messiah: Marx
The Apostles: Lenin, Stalin, etc.
The Elect: The Proletariat
The Church: The Communist Party
The Seat of the Church: Moscow
The Second Coming: The Revolution
Hell: The Punishment of Capitalists
The Kingdom Come: The Communist Commonwealth

"It was the emotional content, so subtly Christian and Jewish, that made Communism appealing to me for a long time. And certainly the so-called 'early or primitive Christianity' content is what Marxian strategists and apologists stress at every opportunity in this country."

From Mr. Russell, who certainly deserves the courtesy of being quoted verbatim in so crucial a context, we get the following:

"The Jewish pattern of history, *past and future*, is such as to make a powerful appeal to the oppressed and unfortunate at all

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times. *Saint Augustine adapted this pattern to Christianity, Marx to Socialism. To understand Marx psychologically, one should use the following dictionary:**

"Yahweh = Dialectical Materialism
The Messiah = Marx
The Elect = The Proletariat
The Church = The Communist Party
The Second Coming = The Revolution
Hell = Punishment of the Capitalists
The Millennium = The Communist Commonwealth

"The terms on the left give the emotional content of the terms on the right, and it is this emotional content, familiar to those who have had a Christian or a Jewish upbringing, that makes Marx's eschatology credible. A similar dictionary could be made for the Nazis, but their conceptions are more purely Old Testament and less Christian than those of Marx, and their Messiah is more analogous to the Maccabees than to Christ."

The contrast between these two passages is interesting. First, of course, there is the difference in the two dictionaries. The purpose behind this — if any — is obscure; it is sufficient to note that Mrs. Luce has not only not followed Mr. Russell's wording faithfully, but — apparently in her zeal — has embellished it.

Nor is there point in dwelling on her naïve and unacknowledged appropriation to her own experience of Mr. Russell's sentence about "emotional content." Or even on her assertion that the dictionary is the key to appreciation of Marxism's *religious appeal*, whereas Mr. Russell has offered it as an insight to the *psychological understanding* of Marx himself. At the least, however, this variation has ironic connotations — in view of the explicit theme of Mrs. Luce's article.

And it certainly seems fair to say that by omitting the juxtaposition of St. Augustine and Christianity to Marx and Socialism, Mrs. Luce has highlighted the "Jewish pattern of history" in a way that Mr. Russell did not intend. It is true that she joins Christianity and Judaism in her own words following the dictionary, but this does not mitigate her previous emphasis. Her

*Italics indicate portions deleted in Mrs. Luce's version.

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use of quotation marks and of the terms "so-called" and "Marxian strategists and apologists" belittles the parallel between Christianity and Marxism which Mr. Russell quite definitely stated, and then re-emphasized in the last of his sentences quoted above. (It is also interesting that Mrs. Luce made no use of his finding the Nazis' conceptions "more purely Old Testament and less Christian than those of Marx.")

Finally, by reminding us at the outset that Freud was also born of Jewish parents, she imparts to what she then quotes from Mr. Russell another emphasis which is not his.

Mrs. Luce also attacks Freudian psychoanalysis, and does it with greater subtlety than Monsignor Sheen. She approaches it with the half-amused tolerance befitting an old, now painless folly, and with the generosity of the firm disbeliever. Her curt, concise nods in the direction of its accomplishments may, therefore, be dismissed as part of the scenery of this generosity. They remind one of the early Reformation's concession to natural morality and "good works" of a provincial kind of value — only to add that they were utterly irrelevant to salvation.

The crux of her argument lies, I would say, not in her recital of her own abortive psychoanalytic treatment, but in a few paragraphs of generalization early in her second article.

"These techniques [psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis] will never help to integrate the rapidly disintegrating minds of society until, in the words of Professor Hocking, their practitioners come to realize that 'God is the law of normal mental life.' When great psychiatrists become religious men, they will succeed to a far greater extent in their 'soul surgery,' just as great religious men always have when they understood something of psychology.

"The priest hears what a man is willing to confess, that is, *able* to confess because he is conscious of it. The psychoanalyst's task is to learn by patient scientific observation what the patient cannot confess because he is unconscious of it. Nevertheless, both confessions involve a man's conscience. A man without a conscience is a man who can neither be saved by a priest nor integrated by an analyst. His fate is suicide, jail or a mental institu-

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tion. But a man's conscience comes of God. If the psychoanalyst would stand *in loco Dei* to his patient when excavating the subconscious content of his conscience he must himself believe in God. Or else he is an impostor."

Mrs. Luce goes on to say that her own psychoanalyst was "a soul-quack," with whom she was lost "in the godless and atavistic underbrush of Freudianism." This is not very conclusive evidence of the irreligiousness of analysts in general, but she will not accept the suggestion that she "fell into the hands of 'the wrong analyst.'" He "was considered one of the best in America, a pupil of a pupil of Freud's from Vienna."

As for the rest, Mrs. Luce seems to have overlooked the fact that she is discussing doctors. That they are operating on a medical borderline between mind and body does not diminish the fact that society and imperfect knowledge demand that they approach it from their own side of the line. This approach attempts to help the patient to function normally, to rid him of the fears which make him insupportable to himself, but not to direct or to stand in judgment on his decisions. This is to say, the patient must reconcile his knowledge of himself with his conscience (whether it be a Christian one or a super-ego) and the workings of society. The adjustment is imperfect — as it has been even since Christ was among us — but that is no argument for an arbitrary hostility between science and Christianity, or for the ineffectuality of either.

Upon the highly intricate theory of relativity, Mrs. Luce has embroidered with a *sang-froid* that is truly amazing. We also find that she confuses Einstein's theory in physics with philosophical skepticism about the existence of absolutes, which she applies very loosely to ethics and religion. However, this is perhaps understandable in one who later disarmingly refers to "the half-baked ideas I held about relativity." And finally, by reference to Dr. Einstein himself, we find that she has given us what we strongly suspected was being scratched for all along — a scapegoat. This begins as a slow rumble in the first article, and develops eventually into a horrifying satiric credo for the atomic age.

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"Let us pray!" urges Mrs. Luce. "(In the First Church of Atomic Fission):

"I believe in the Atom, Power Almighty, Substance of Heaven and Earth, once and forever divisible, first split at Oak Ridge, as prophesied by St. Einstein, then dropped over Hiroshima in the form of a bomb, killing millions, still to be split over the whole world, whence it may bring the atomic Kingdom of Heaven on Earth or come to judge mankind obsolete. I believe in Uranium, Plutonium and the Cyclatron [sic]; the Communion of Scientists; the corruption of the body; the relativity of all mind and matter, world with an end, Amen."

Professor Einstein, a refugee from Hitler's persecutions in Europe, is at present devoting most of his energies to promoting world peace. At the time of Hiroshima, he wrote, with other atomic scientists, a letter of protest to Washington, begging that the bomb not be used. He may be a convenient symbol of atomic science, but the imputation that the man whom Professor Infeld of the University of Toronto has called the "aloof conscience of the world" is an atheist is unwarranted. Moreover, Mrs. Luce's effort to drive a wedge between science and religion is as ill-considered as it is impractical. Had she been moved to inquire before she wrote, she could have found Dr. Einstein's own credo explicitly stated in at least two published books. With the awareness of infinity which many scientists have felt, he suggests that "To know that what is impenetrable to us really exists, manifesting itself as the highest wisdom and the most radiant beauty which our dull faculties can comprehend only in their most primitive forms — this knowledge, this feeling, is at the center of true religiousness. In this sense, and in this sense only, I belong in the ranks of devoutly religious men."*

The words speak magnificently for the man. But at any rate, belief in God is not the sole property of the Catholic Church. Many of its leaders have testified to this by standing with representatives of other churches to urge interfaith unity. It is ridiculous and socially dangerous to make public affirmations to the

* See also Professor Einstein's statement on page 32 of the ninetieth anniversary number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1947.

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contrary. It is still worse to do so when the speaker is generally considered an official spokesman, or very close to one.

It is this aspect of the public expressions of Monsignor Sheen and Mrs. Luce that disturbs me most. Considering their importance, I fear the possibility of what they say being symptomatic of a distinct trend within the Church. The possibilities, at least, are alarming. Are Catholics to be given a program by which they can subjectify their fears as an organization, and achieve solidarity and direction on so fundamentally negative and unrealistic a basis?

They are at least being given the requisites for such a program by influential people. They are being handed suggestive scapegoats. They are being given a platform by which they can justify intolerance and arrogance toward the sincere efforts toward good will on the part of the non-Catholic world.

In fact, the elements contained in the publications of Monsignor Sheen and Mrs. Luce are so combustible that sober people must wonder seriously whether many devout Catholics have not already, as a result, reached the point of saturation where any refutation or correction of these broadsides will only enhance belief in their truth, rather than eradicate it. One can only hope that the Pope's recent eloquent plea for racial and other sorts of tolerance signifies the direction in which the Church will henceforth move, reaffirming the best for which it has stood down the ages.

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The Atom and the Economy

Walter Isard and Vincent H. Whitney

TWO YEARS have passed since Hiroshima. The initial fever of speculation that followed the news of the bomb has been somewhat dampened by the passage of time and the sober realities of the international scene. But visions of a new world in which atomic energy is harnessed as the great servant of mankind die hard.

These atomic dreams are not all mere whistling to keep up our courage in the darkness of the political night. Reputable men of science expect the impact of the atom upon such diverse fields as medicine, warfare and political organization to be revolutionary in character. But in the field of economic organization, where some of the most spectacular visions have been conjured up, the implications of atomic energy are far from revolutionary. As a primary invention calculated to reshape the pattern of the American or of the world economy, atomic energy will not compare with such a truly revolutionary innovation as the use of coal for power. It is fact, if seemingly heretical fact, to consider it a minor force compared to the introduction of the canal and, at a later date, of the railroad. This is more than opinion. Recent studies put us in a position where we can for the first time make a realistic appraisal of the economic implications of atomic energy.

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A basic consideration is the technical problem of protection against lethal radiation. Just as such technical factors as those involved in traffic control effectively restrict the utilization of the airplane as a transport medium, so will radiation control impose a major check upon the application of atomic energy to concrete situations. Radiation is, of course, inherent in the process of atomic fission; and so far scientists see no method of eliminating its harmful effects on human beings except through the use of thick shields of concrete, steel or lead constructed around the piles which are the working base.

Such masses of absorptive materials necessarily entail high fixed charges for plant and equipment. And there is small likelihood such limitations will be overcome. It would not take any great amount of uranium to power a trans-Atlantic crossing. But this uranium requires a container very much larger in size. Because of the ability of neutrons to escape from the uranium area, there is a critical size below which the necessary chain reaction cannot be maintained. In addition, the need for a cooling medium, involving additional size and weight, probably exists.

These factors alone make the development of small-scale, individualized units of atomic energy unlikely. They thus preclude the use of atomic power in the operation of automobiles, passenger aircraft, and household devices. Dreams of atomic pellets for our gas tanks and of radioactive particles to light our Adirondack cabin must remain for some time to come — if not forever — the sole property of the comic books.

The present practical development of atomic energy for non-military purposes must be, then, in areas where the use of power on a large scale will make economically sound the investment in the heavy and complex machinery necessary for radiation control. This amounts to saying that atomic energy will be confined to those power stations where it can successfully compete with coal or waterpower in the generation of electricity; to certain sea-going vessels which can handle a relatively large amount of dead weight; and to such unique projects as blasting tunnels through mountains, melting icebergs, and attacking other physical barriers where conventional power sources are relatively

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inefficient or totally inadequate. The latter projects are for the most part a long way from concrete application.

The fundamental economic question reduces itself to that of relative cost of atomic energy and of competing power sources within the framework established above. Unless non-economic military considerations are made the deciding ones, the basic question of relative costs will be the ultimate determinant of the use of atomic energy as a large-scale power source. What such relative costs are likely to be has been analysed in a recent report of the Cowles Commission for Research in Economics at the University of Chicago.

Here preliminary cost analysis has been made for coal-burning power plants in a number of countries, including the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union (Ural region), China and Argentina. A normal operation at 50 per cent of capacity in a modern 100,000 kilowatt plant has been assumed in order to rule out any differences in cost which might result from unequal efficiencies in actual plants and in their operating methods. Cost differentials then must reflect primarily differences the several countries must meet in the cost of coal at the mine and in the charges for transportation from pit head to power plant.

The comparative costs of generating electricity from atomic energy are naturally far more speculative. The most authoritative estimate which has so far appeared in print indicates that electricity might be generated from atomic fuel in a plant with a capacity of 75,000 kilowatts operating at full capacity at about 8 mills (eight-tenths of one cent) per kilowatt hour. In view of the fact that power plants normally do not operate at more than half of capacity, the Cowles Commission studies suggest that ten mills per kilowatt hour is a more realistic figure. On the other hand, another report by a group of California scientists under Professor Condliffe proposes a figure of only four mills per kilowatt hour, but in a station with a capacity of 500,000 kilowatts operating at a 50 per cent level.

The first report, prepared under the direction of Dr. C. A. Thomas of the Monsanto Chemical Company and presented last fall to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, has the

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advantage of being based upon actual operation of the Oak Ridge and Hanford piles and upon other confidential information. Modification of its figures to somewhat less than ten mills per kilowatt hour is reasonable, however, in light of the relatively small plant used and the tendency for costs to decline at this level as plant size increases.

What are comparable costs for the manufacture of electricity from coal? In the United States such costs vary from an estimated 6 mills per kilowatt hour at the mines to 9.5 mills at remote points where costs of rail transport must be added.

Since atomic fuels will have negligible transport costs, because of the tremendous power yield from a small mass of fissionable material, atomic power plants may be expected to compete keenly with coal-powered plants in the near future in areas of the United States typified by some parts of New England and the upper Great Lakes region, which are distant from the coal mines and from suitable hydropower or other fuel sources. Such competition will undoubtedly prevail, too, wherever the construction of wholly new power plants is undertaken.

Where the costs of generating electricity from coal are highest, atomic fuel will, of course, compete most successfully. Argentina is an example. Here in prewar years costs of generating electricity in the assumed 100,000 kilowatt plant would have run to between 9 and 11 mills. Today, because of the relative scarcity of coal and of shipping, they would vary between 16 and 18 mills. The same basic situation is characteristic of the more remote parts of India, China and Latin America. It prevails too in countries, like Italy, which make considerable use of an inferior grade of domestically mined coal; and in countries like Uruguay and Argentina, which lack both adequate coal deposits and developed sources of hydroelectric power.

Hydroelectric power costs are generally below even those of coal. On the other hand, the availability of hydropower is sharply restricted by nature and by costs of transmission, which mount rapidly as distance increases. There is every probability that, as power sources, atomic fuels will compete with increasing success with both water and coal. This will be true in countries as sharply

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contrasting as Great Britain and Russia. In the former, costs of generating electricity from coal in the standard 100,000 kilowatt plant operating at one-half of capacity were a little over 7 mills per kilowatt hour before the war, and currently are estimated to be well over 9 mills. The increased costs reflect in part the disrupting effects of the war. Even more important is the general trend toward increasing costs in the mining industry, as remaining coal resources become inferior, and modernization of the mines lags. In Russia's Ural Mountain region, prewar costs of operation of coal power plants is estimated at 6.5 mills per kilowatt hour. This cost is below that of Great Britain, long known as a coal-producing and exporting nation. Unlike England, however, Russia still has — and will have for some decades to come — a rapidly growing population. This means a much more flexible and mobile labor force, with the implication that Russia will especially benefit from a wide distribution of electric energy powered by atomic fuels.

It does not seem in any way unrealistic, then, to suppose that atomic power plants will compete successfully with existing plants. Some of their greatest opportunities appear to be in those areas where an expansion of power facilities is called for, but where, as in the more highly developed economies of Great Britain and Switzerland, the increasing use of standard power sources runs into increasing costs. For the moment we shall make the generous assumption that atomic plants will supplant all but the most efficient coal and hydroelectric plants, both in this country and abroad. The crucial question then lies in the economic significance of such a change.

From the standpoint of aggregate production, how important will such a reduction in power costs be? Obviously, separate groups of industries will show wide variation. Among distributive industries in the United States, expenditures other than those for fuel and power constitute the major portion of the total costs. Comparable data for the extractive industries are not available. For the total of American manufacturing industries, however, *Census of Manufactures* figures for 1939 indicate that the cost of all fuel and purchased energy amounts to less than 2.5 per cent of

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the total value of product. The ratio is higher only for stone, clay and glass products, iron and steel, paper and allied products, petroleum and coal derivatives, and chemical manufactures. For the industry with the lowest ratio, tobacco products, power costs are only 0.17 per cent of total valuation.

Such figures must dispel many a dream. Even with an unexpectedly sharp drop of 50 per cent in power costs, following the introduction of atomic fuel, total savings would amount to hardly more than 1 per cent of the total value of product. The human effort freed for other productive activity or for leisure would be negligible. There is also no evidence of any such large-scale substitution of power for labor as some avid enthusiasts have predicted. Any decrease in power costs relative to labor costs, and any further developments in power technology, will undoubtedly result in a more intensive use of machinery relative to manpower — as they have in the past. But such change is gradual, not revolutionary.

Finally, atomic energy does not seem likely to produce any new group of major industries, or to cause any marked expansion in existing ones — except perhaps the electroprocess industries. Compare this picture with the development of the highway-construction, rubber and the host of other industries that followed in the wake of the automobile. The field of electronics may well prove a more powerful force in its effect upon the American economy than the development of atomic fuels.

From the standpoint of the individual consumer, any sizeable reduction in the costs of generating electricity is of even less significance. The charge to the consumer is based upon transmission-distribution costs, which would be largely unaffected. Any increased efficiency in the field of electric power technology may be expected to do what it has done in the past — that is, to bring a gradual decline in rates for service at the same time that greater total consumption is encouraged.

One factor in high power costs is the necessity in many locations for transporting coal from some distance. There are alterna-

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tives, of course. Local coals of inferior quality may be used. Hydroelectric power is available in fixed locations, but its immobility is a major restricting factor in its use. Finally, plants may be located at or near the power source. But to do so, only slightly less imperative advantages of other sites must frequently be foregone.

There has been a glib assumption that with the appearance of atomic energy, there will be a mass relocation of industry. Atomic power can be readily transported to any point at negligible cost, it is argued, because of the high concentration of energy in a small mass. The orientation of industry to other power sources, especially in the Appalachian coal fields, would be ended by the ability of atomic energy plants to locate at any point whatsoever where other locational factors are suitable.

The customary contention is that atomic power is ubiquitous, especially when atomic fuel is combined with gas turbines in the operation of a power plant to overcome the limiting factor of need for large quantities of water for cooling. But if we accept, for purposes of argument, the tenuous assumption that atomic power will be available for purchase everywhere in the nation at approximately equal cost, it does not follow that we will see any major structural shifts in the industrial and commercial pattern.

There are five major factors in the general determination of industrial location. Relation to transport is one. Sources of power constitute another; sources of labor supply and of raw materials, two more. The location of consumers' markets is the fifth. The most cursory examination of these factors argues against major industrial relocation as an outgrowth of atomic power. Our basic industry, dominated by iron and steel, is heavily concentrated in the area of the Appalachian coal fields and the Great Lakes Waterway system. Auxiliary processors and service industries, in turn, are focused around the centers of primary activity. The transportation net is relatively highly developed in this basic area, and offers for most types of industry a maximum number of profitable locations. Transport is unquestionably of first importance here, in its tendency to freeze industry to its present location.

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Another factor is labor supply. Pools of skilled labor always develop over a period of time around established industrial locations. The Northeast and Great Lakes regions are no exception. As a result, unless an industry can utilize unskilled labor efficiently and can draw on such a source of supply as the high-birth-rate South, any tendency to relocate will be negligible. We must recognize that the locational pattern of both our primary and secondary industries was formed at a time when labor was relatively mobile, because of heavy migration from abroad and of birth rates at home high enough in combination to supply a rapidly growing population.

These factors no longer obtain, and in consequence the labor force is relatively immobile. The Study of Population Redistribution made in the 1930's showed that some 73 per cent of all wage jobs in manufacturing were located at that time in the approximately two hundred (out of more than three thousand) counties in the United States in which they had been located in 1899. The great majority of these counties were in southern New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the east North-Central states. In spite of the increased use of electric power in this period, manufacturing industries, both new and old, continued to locate not merely in those states, but in those specific counties which had already established some degree of industrial concentration. It should be noted too that, from another point of view, the labor and service force represent the consumer market. The locus of labor supply is thus automatically the locus of consumption.

The strongest dispersive factor lies in the ability of atomic plants to provide power close to the source of raw materials, thus eliminating or minimizing their transport cost. But this point is easily overstressed. The Cowles Commission, in fact, does so in its report on the aluminum industry. In this major electroprocess industry, power requirements are of sufficient importance to have attracted processing plants to cheap water power sources. These have not coincided with the sources of bauxite and of its derivative, alumina. The cost of transport of bauxite from Dutch Guiana, its present major source, and of alumina from Mobile to the electrolytic aluminum plants now located near hydroelectric

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stations,is found by the Cowles Commission to account for 14 per cent of the total cost of manufacture of pig aluminum. In the judgment of the Commission, if atomic power can match approximately present costs of 2 mills per kilowatt hour, the aluminum industry may well consider relocation nearer the source of raw materials, with a resultant saving in transport costs. But it would seem highly unlikely that atomic power can be produced at as low a cost as hydropower; or that such low rates could be attained in all locations, especially those in such less industrially developed areas as Mobile and Dutch Guiana. Large power-consuming industries, such as aluminum, seem likely then to be bound to their excellent hydroelectric sites by a small but continuing differential in power costs.

The great majority of primary industries in this country are already well located with respect to their basic raw materials. Iron and steel, key industries in our economy, take full advantage of the fortunate proximity of iron ore and coal deposits, and of the unexcelled transport net connecting these areas with one another and with the major markets. Coal is for them not only a fuel, but a raw material in their basic processes. As a result, their whole technology would have to undergo change before they could take advantage of any reductions in fuel cost which atomic energy might make possible. A similar situation prevails in other primary industries — for example, glass.

The relative fixity of the basic industrial group alone makes any major locational shift of American industry unlikely. Such a judgment is reinforced by the relatively favorable present location of a majority of plants with respect to such factors as transportation, labor supply, and markets. Add to these inertia and vested interests in local communities on the part of both plant and labor force, and any likelihood of a revolutionary change becomes remote. It is possible, of course, that military considerations, which we cannot consider here, will take precedence over economic factors and force a broad dispersion of industry and population. Even this seems unlikely, prior to any state of extreme emergency. At any rate, atomic energy as an economic force will at most hasten the long-time shifts within and between

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regions which have been in process for some fifty years, and perhaps, in a few specific localities such as mining areas, will initiate clusters of industrial activity.

On the level of the world economy there are many tacit assumptions that the availability of atomic power at relatively low cost will permit a luxuriant flowering of industrially backward areas. Many of these have been retarded by a lack of quality coal deposits and of hydropower. With their development, it is argued, major changes in the structure of world industry and commerce will inevitably result. Among these changes will be the opening of large-scale markets and investment outlets for the accumulated savings of the more mature industrialized economies.

These hypotheses may be examined with reference to sample areas. Brazil is a useful case. Here is a nation rich in undeveloped minerals and other natural resources. Before the war these were largely unexploited, because of a lack of cheap fuel and the inadequately developed power sources. These, however, were not the only obstacles present. Transport facilities were grossly inadequate; transport resources were niggardly; both capital and technical personnel were lacking; the country was handicapped by a poverty-stricken, relatively uneducated, exploitable population, and by a record of political instability in an unintegrated economy.

The existence of excellent but undeveloped hydropower sources in non-industrialized areas around the world testifies to the strength of the resistances, cultural and political as well as economic, that will impede any immediate penetration of atomic power to all parts of the world. In fact, lack of capital and lack of technical skills may be more readily overcome than a basic social and political instability or a cultural taboo. Undoubtedly in some specific areas atomic power plants will be constructed. But such areas are few. They may be increased by a policy of aggressive development of non-industrialized areas by the United Nations, but such a policy is not now in prospect. Without a strong program aimed at overcoming these various resisting factors, speculation as to relative costs of power for technologically undeveloped areas is meaningless. The mere injection of atomic power

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into such a situation, even though it be omnipresent and only a few mills in cost, is unlikely to produce any radical alteration.

It seems likely that the greatest impact of atomic power will be upon those economies which stand today at the threshold of extensive industrial development. The Soviet Union is an unrivaled example of such a country. The more mature economies — those like Great Britain, France and the United States — are likely to be affected to a far lesser degree; and the technologically undeveloped areas of the world — with a few major exceptions — least of all. Our own and other highly industrialized countries are unlikely to find in atomic energy the stimulus for a new era of prosperity. We are well aware that major inventions can be counted on to bring with them a host of unsuspected allied changes, just as the automobile brought changes in courtship patterns and promoted the filling station, the hot dog and suburban living. Only the passage of time will reveal the magnitude of the specific changes allied to the production of atomic energy. But the very nature of the invention is different from that of the automobile or the introduction of coal.

Atomic energy is a further stimulus to orderly growth in our economy. It is not, unfortunately, the wand of the fairy godmother which overnight will bring us unparalleled abundance.

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Big Wind

Theodore Roethke

Where were the greenhouses going,
Lunging into the lashing
Wind driving water
So far down the river
All the faucets stopped? —
So we drained the manure-machine
For the steam plant,
Pumping the stale mixture
Into auxiliary boilers,
Watching the pressure gauge
Waver over to red,
As the seams hissed
And the live steam
Drove to the far
End of the rose-house,
Where the worst wind was,
Creaking the cypress window-frames,
Cracking so much thin glass
We stayed all night,
Stuffing the holes with burlap;

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But she rode it out,
That old rose-house,
She hove up into the teeth of it,
The core and pith of that ugly storm,
Ploughing with her stiff prow,
Bucking into the wind-waves
That broke over the whole of her,
Flailing her sides with spray,
Flinging long strings of wet across the roof-top,
Finally veering, wearing themselves out, merely
Whistling thinly under the wind-vents;
She sailed into the calm morning,
That great creaking ark,
Carrying her full cargo of roses.

© THEODORE ROETHKE is associate professor of English at the University of Washington. He is the author of *Open House*, a volume of poetry. "Big Wind" will be included in Mr. Roethke's second volume, *Lost Son*, to appear next spring.

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The Midwestern Origins of America

Joseph E. Baker

IT IS interesting to look at the development of America from the point of view of the Middle West — rather than the reverse, as is customary. Other nations have their history told from the inside. But the "American mind" takes up its position on the rim of the country and looks in. Even to many intellectuals physically resident in Iowa, Iowa seems more "remote" than Connecticut or Brooklyn. Often, in journalistic and political discussions, New York seems to block out everything farther west; in academic discussions, even now, Massachusetts is still occasionally allowed to perform that unhappy role. In no other country is the thinking so likely to be peripheral. In no other country do the intellectuals have so weak a hold on national affairs. If there is any connection between these two phenomena, it behooves us to offer a corrective to the picture we have of ourselves.

Frederick Jackson Turner's work unfortunately sent historians not to regional studies so much as to a study of the influence on America of the advancing frontier: the Eastern frontier, the Southern frontier, the Midwestern frontier, the Far Western frontier. As soon as an area ceased to be peripheral, it apparently deserved neglect. An undue emphasis was placed upon the primitive, even for the frontier itself. Actually the frontiersman's life was only, let us say, 10 per cent "frontier," and still about 90 per cent European or broadly human. Christianity, the English language, European monogamy, and the political heritage of Locke and Milton were not abandoned.

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Moreover, for half a century now, that stage in our history has been past. What I am speaking of is the Middle West in all its periods — including the future. And the immediate political future of the Middle West can make or break the civilization of the world.

One should not try to absorb all New England history into the story of Colonialism, though it could be done; nor all the history of Virginia into the story of the treatment of the Negro. Likewise, it is a mistake to absorb the whole history of the Middle West into the story of the advancing agricultural frontier, and later the advancing urban frontier. That is to see the "hinterland" from the point of view of the expanding East. From this point of view, we get a picture in which the Midwesterners stand in the background, blurred figures, while the spotlight is focused upon the new elements that are coming in. Similarly, one could write the history of Massachusetts in chapters called The Puritan Frontier, The Frontier of Idealistic Philosophy, The Irish Frontier, The Ph.D. Frontier, etc. Such a picture would be as false as the picture we have of Middle Western history.

It would be healthy to do exactly the opposite: to assume, for the time being, that the Middle West is an entity having the same kind of reality we ascribe to any other country. We must know the Middle West as such — not merely as it looks to transients, and not merely from the point of view of special cults (of beauty, of despair, of sociology, etc.) conscious always that they have their headquarters elsewhere.

You can make romances out of the charm of the Southland, build plays around the "New England character," movies around the characteristic adventures of the Far West, and publish daily columns and whole magazines exploiting the flavor of New York, but you could do none of these things for the Middle West. And the reason is that we are not generally conscious of anything that sets off the Midwesterner from the typical American. Sinclair Lewis portrays Midwestern towns, and receives the Nobel Prize for portraying *America*. And it is true that many a "Babbitt" lives east of Philadelphia. These are merely examples of the semi-conscious feeling that America is Midwestern.

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II

Three things were made at once: the Middle West, the United States, and the American character. It was of greatest importance that the establishment of a civilization in the northern Mississippi Valley should have coincided with the formation of America as a nation. The Eastern states are almost twice as old as the United States. A full half of the history of Massachusetts or of Virginia is the history of a remote province of the British Empire. If this off-center life as a subject territory had taken place in the second half of our history, it might not have left an ineradicable stamp on the East, but it was the first half: the East grew up and developed mature habits as part of a European state.

The structure of Eastern society, the customs, the universities, the churches, the classes, the molds in which individual or organized energy might flow, were laid down while the East was part of an aristocratic world, quick to settle into static cultivation. Emerson observed that Europe extends to the Alleghenies, while America lies beyond. And he showed how European he was by selecting as the "democrat" among his "Representative Men" not Jefferson but Napoleon. Even recently our Eastern universities have been imitating Oxford. And there are cultivated Easterners who find it harder to cross the Hudson than the Atlantic.

But the Middle West was never a British colony. The half west of the Mississippi was never under the British flag; and in the other half, during the twelve years between 1763 and 1775, the French flag had not entirely disappeared. This was the first part of the country to be *settled as a part of the United States*, and — of vast significance — the first to be settled *by citizens of a New-World state*. Even more recent Anglo-Saxon countries, western Canada, Australia, lack that experience. And the experience came at a crucial time. In 1770 we were all Englishmen. But if we were born after 1780, we were not Englishmen. What we should be, that first generation would see, for themselves and for their children's children. The empty term "American" was to be given its meaning during the very period that our people were

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working out their desires untrammeled and unhampered in the vast experimental laboratory between the Alleghenies and the western plains.

Our historians during this last generation have told us much about the influence of "the West." My point is that this is an indefinite term. Today, "the West," even without the adjective "Far," would never be used by a native to refer to any state east of Wyoming. In fact, to a native of Colorado, Nebraska is "back east." Yet in 1837 a writer in *Fraser's Magazine* says that the "Far West" may be considered as beginning with Indiana. In 1851 Emerson wrote to Carlyle concerning the Upper Mississippi: "'The Far West' is the right name for these verdant deserts." Within two generations the word changed its meaning by at least fifteen hundred miles.

The twentieth century may belong to the Far West, with the so-called "Pacific" a center of world conflict. Hollywood, perhaps, offers the new culture for Hottentot and Chinese, the new artistic career for Scandinavian and Pole. The newer West may determine the character of the twentieth century. But it did not make the American character which had already been formed before that West was settled. The Forty-niners were Americans before they got to California — we must admit it — as certainly as George Washington was born and reared an English gentleman. It is not enough to say that "the frontier" molded our civilization. This was the work of that portion of the frontier which was pushed laboriously westward, farm by farm, from Ohio to Nebraska, while our ideals, tastes and social habits were being driven very deep and the soil baked hard. Very different was the Far Western frontier which began in California and at the end of the Oregon Trail, to sweep not west but *eastward* in irregular spurts of great wealth from mines, Mormons, ranches and oil, until it ended in Oklahoma.

III

When the influence of the Middle West on the East is deplored (a not infrequent event) it is well to remember that it was largely

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the Midwestern land which kept Anglo-Saxon America from being as divided as Spanish America, by giving the thirteen original separate sovereign nations sufficient immediate common interest to bring them together into a strongly unified government. Before it was settled, the Middle West had made a contribution to American civilization, by helping to bind the Yankee and the planter together, so that when the Rhode Island Englishman and the Georgia Englishman changed into something else it would not be into mere Georgians and Rhode Islanders, but rather members of a nation with some potentialities for world importance. The Middle West, in its prenatal existence, kept us from being a second Balkans.

Nor was this the last time that the Middle West was to contribute to American unity. It is unity, in turn, that gave our nation the possibility of mass production, freedom from internal tariff or threat of war, and the other advantages that have distinguished our economic life from that of Europe. It is the iron inevitability of poverty and war that struck into the soul of Europe and drove her from her fair hopes to desperation and terrible escapes.

Since a truly American political life begins with Jefferson, founder of the Democratic party and "the true representative of the Republican party" (according to a Republican orator in 1860 and others of recent date), it is of great interest to notice that Jefferson was the first statesman for the Middle West. He laid down the basis for organizing half of it in his plans for the Northwest Territory. He bought for us the other half in the Louisiana Purchase, making the Mississippi America's river, not America's boundary against a Mediterranean power. Otherwise Teuton and Latin, matched in strength, might have faced each other as hostile as ever across a second Rhine. Moreover, Jefferson's political program was supported by the new region; his ideals of agrarian democracy were illustrated there. When the East had become industrial, and the South was committed to slavery, the Lincolnian rebirth of Jefferson's principles came in the Middle West.

It was not "the West" that gave democracy to the nation and

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the example of democratic society to the world; it was the Middle West. The Far West, like the South and East, was settled from the first by wealthy gentlemen, or men who soon found wealth, side by side with those who were drudging at the bottom. Katherine Fullerton Gerould in a book entitled *The Aristocratic West* remarks that "the typical democracy of the Middle West is profoundly unsympathetic to the Far Westerners . . . the West is aristocratic in temper, in just the way that most of the American colonists meant the country to be."

That is a comment from the Right. And from the Left, I believe you will find in New York and on the Pacific any number of radicals agreeing to condemn the "petit bourgeois" Middle Westerners. The phenomenon has its exact equivalent in the two European condemnations of America as a whole: the gentleman's, that we are hopelessly new, common, gregarious; the socialist's, that we are hopelessly conservative, class-ridden, individualistic. So insidiously has the Middle West permeated American civilization.

IV

When the Middle West was settled, it was not by picking up bodily a portion of an older civilization, and setting it down on new soil with enough "ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, . . . apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers" to make it go — in the words of Francis Bacon, who was a member of the company chartered by King James in 1609 for the colonization of Virginia. Rather, individuals, freer than Homeric heroes, went forth almost alone into the wilderness, ready to turn fowler, ploughman, smith, carpenter, surgeon, as the need might arise. Never were men so confident. The pioneer felt that he could do practically everything necessary, including preaching and state-building. And if not every pioneer could be a poet or scientist, then possibly poetry and science should be left to a more effete society! Those who admire the political ideals of the English romantic poets cannot have contempt for the civilization of the early Middle Westerners; it represented the nearest

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thing to anarchy the world has ever known: reliance on individual instinct and conscience, recognizing no hereditary bounds, classes, churches or manners. Today we are all become gentlemen and see this as lawless ignorance.

This free individual confidence which in England belonged to the new industrial magnates, and in Homeric epic to the kings, in the new land belonged to the common man. It has long been true that the European is an institutional man, the American an individualist. Both Tory and Socialist believe in institutional control, but in America (outside the centers of overpowering European influence) there are few Socialists and fewer Tories. The American conservative is an adherent of *laissez-faire* capitalism that is called "Liberal" in England, while the American in protest is almost always a democratic rebel, a natural-born Distributist. Both find their views in Emerson's "Politics." No one who is aware of the power of our past would be surprised that the Socialist Party has increased little if any in a generation. Nor would he wonder why, on the other hand, the children of the rich will not submit to the rigid discipline necessary to make a permanent aristocracy. It is possible that life on our continent will never again run in European grooves.

The Far West, from almost the beginning, was to offer even the laborer some grandeur, romance, variety — renewable sources of interest and excitement not open to the settlers of the Middle West. The earlier frontier offered very little to color the grinding monotony except hope of personal gain. The Middle Westerner developed heroic habits of work, dangerous competition to anyone who took time out for tea or music. To the Southerner he was a pushing Yankee. In New York he made the struggle sharper and fiercer. As bad money drives out good, perhaps barren laboriousness drives out rich cultivation. But in time Midwesterners won some of the highest places among the scholars of New England, the journalists and foreign correspondents of New York, and even among the circles of artistic exiles in Paris and London between the world wars. These eminent men were seldom thought of as Midwesterners; they were Americans.

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V

The tragedy that was the Civil War is usually rehearsed with the spotlight on the South. But there again our history revolves about the Middle West, whose open lands made a conflict between Yankee and Southerner inevitable. The best book in poetry on the Civil War is appropriately named after John Brown, who came from Kansas and breathed the spirit of Kansas. The first ominous presage of the war came with the detaching of Missouri from its geographic position as part of the Middle West, the giving it to the slavery of the South. It is to be noted that the greatest writer of the Mississippi Valley, Mark Twain, took his stand with the critics of slavery, satirizing Southern society, so that he may legitimately be claimed by the Middle West. Like New England, the Middle West was "free," but like the South it was agricultural. It took its politics from the South and its schools from the East. Indeed, within a century the Middle West moved from southwest to northeast.

A century ago the frontiersman of the southern Mississippi was almost indistinguishable from the Illinoisan. Then gradually the planter civilization of the Old South invaded the region of the lower Mississippi, destroyed the similarities between the civilizations on the two sides of the Ohio, and gave the Middle West its definite southern boundary. Today Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, belong in many respects to the industrial East. It was the shifting of this vast mass that upset the balance of power and decided whether the masters of American democracy were to be planters or plutocrats. In 1843 New Orleans, the seaport for the Middle West, had twice the marine tonnage of New York. But before the conflict came to a head, that ratio was changed. The East grappled the Midwest to it with canals, and hoops of steel. When the Midwest turned to look east for a market instead of south, the future was decided.

The South might have rejoiced that the Union was preserved, if the Reconstruction had been left in the hands of humane Midwesterners like Lincoln and Grant, instead of fanatical New Englanders like Sumner and Stevens. And the time may come

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when the South and the political machines of the northern cities will regret that — for a successor to Franklin Roosevelt — they agree to turn to a semi-Southern state with Jim Crow traditions, and take a machine politician as a substitute for a Midwestern agriculturalist and humanitarian.

The New Deal itself has too often been spoken of as an alliance of radicals from Eastern cities and conservatives from the South. But Roosevelt's following, and his achievements, were more deeply colored by Midwestern elements than ideologists and party politicians seem to realize.

To understand American culture between the Civil War and the second World War, we must turn not to the conquered South or to the triumphant East, but more than ever to the Middle West. If you wish to know why American literature passed from exuberant optimism to satire and despair, it is of little value to look at the East, where the proletariat were no poorer than before, while the rich were yet richer and in control of the nation. The growing despair comes from that old ally of the East, the Middle West, whose farmers were now being impoverished. The changing mood of Hamlin Garland or of Mark Twain illustrates what was happening to the nation in its middle citadel.

But it is false to interpret the latter history of the Middle West entirely as despair. The retreat of the farmers into bitterness was balanced by the rise of Midwestern cities. This was the period of national centralization and standardization. This consolidation was bound to benefit the central region. It is not surprising that during this period the one original contribution that America has made to architecture, the skyscraper, should have come out of Chicago.

VI

The Midwest is the only section of the United States which, like the nation as a whole: (1) was never colonial, (2) never separated from the Union, and yet (3) did go through the Civil War. And the Middle Western character seems to be the median American character, with something of the New Englander's canniness and faith in education, something of the violence and easy spa-

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ciousness of the South, something of the New Yorker's cosmopolitanism, and something of the Western dash — yet without the extremes of New England reticence, New York's aesthetic lightness of touch, the newness of the Far West, or the romanticism and inverted romanticism of the South. It is perhaps extremes of regional type that make for picturesque interest, but it is the norm that gives us curves for prediction.

Examples are plentiful. It is of national significance whether Illinois forges ahead in poetry or in labor trouble; whether Iowa shows a more rapid increase in literary production or in farm tenantry. Isolationism ceased to have any force in America only when it ceased to have force in the Middle West; it was that region which had its mind changed by Pearl Harbor. In the long run, the Midwestern attitude toward race will be considered the American attitude, not the greater race-consciousness (and "immigrant" consciousness) of the South, New York, New England, and the Far West. . . . In 1932 the Socialists would have been clever to follow Norman Thomas's plan for a special thrust in the Middle West. . . .

With the Middle Western universities attracting leading critics, scholars and authors, the country as a whole could have some confidence in its cultural future; but if these institutions revert to technological institutes and business colleges, Harvard, Princeton and Yale cannot long keep the torch burning.

We are often surprised to see how much prestige and publicity can flare in the Atlantic states and then die down, betraying an absence of permanent life if there is a lack of Midwestern support. I believe that our cultural and political historians have not pointed out how often ignoring the Middle West has meant ignoring the future.

Does this doom America to a hopeless mediocrity? Such is the conventional assumption. But I am not convinced that we must despair. Oliver Wendell Holmes is not my idea of a man of wit and culture. The "commonness" or "vulgarity" of Lincoln and Mark Twain did not make them standardized, dull, insignificant fellows.

We are committed to democracy by the habits of our society.

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Now if the special task of the twentieth century is to combine democracy with an intellectual and artistic life, this problem should be met and solved where there is no tradition assigning a superior life to Puritan theocrats, plantation gentry, ranchers, gold-mine millionaires, Dutch patroons or a glittering "Four Hundred." The ideal of a democracy whose culture is worthy of admiration may seem to us a commonplace ideal, but it is perhaps the most astonishing thing one could think of, considered in the light of human history as a whole.

Almost all other societies, including the Athenian, have accepted as axiomatic that culture must be based on servitude; that leisure is the prerogative of a "leisure class"; that to produce one gentleman, many other people must make sacrifices. If modern machinery has rendered this view anachronistic, then the traditional structure of societies east of the Alleghenies is now anachronistic. The twentieth century might look for leadership, not to England or France, New England or New York — for all their voicing of democratic ideals — but to the Middle West, which is old enough in actual experience of democratic living to see through the mere theorizing of propagandists and pressure groups.

The origin of America in the past has been Midwestern. And if the future of America belongs to democracy, then the future of America will also be Midwestern. Whether this is to be good or bad depends to a great extent upon the quality of life and spirit we succeed in maintaining during these crucial years.

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The Romantic Brahms

Sara Ruth Watson

ALTHOUGH — or perhaps because — Brahms has been dead fifty years, a true understanding of the man and his art is still emergent. Historical perspective may reveal the rank and contribution of an artist, in relation to those who have preceded him. But the meaning and validity of the aesthetic experience aroused by the works of that artist are matters each age decides for itself. In his own lifetime, after the appearance of the *Deutsches Requiem* — performed in 1868 when its composer was thirty-five years old — Brahms was popularly hailed as a great German musician of world-wide reputation. A quarter of a century ago, when the Wagnerian star was at its zenith, Brahms was generally regarded as a typical German bourgeois, and his music was labeled ponderous, dull and intellectual. Even today there are many who still consider it heavy, uninspired and pedantic.

But a decade ago Robert Havens Schauffler in his book *The Unknown Brahms* started, by presenting a new picture of Brahms the man, to dispel these clouds that had settled over his name. Mr. Schauffler pointed the way toward a new interpretation of Brahms: "The vivid romanticism in this sturdy classicist is daily coming to be more and more fully savoured. . . . It is the twentieth century's achievement to discover in Brahms that potent combination of classicist with romanticist — that fine balance between shaping intellect and enriching emotion — which is characteristic of the highest in art."

The standard histories of music pin upon Brahms the label "neo-classicist," chiefly because he used traditional, established

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musical forms and because he was considered the leading champion of "absolute" music at a time when his contemporaries were turning out "programme" pieces. That there existed in Brahms a fusion of classical and romantic qualities no one will deny; still, the designation "neo-classicist" is misleading because it emphasizes one side of his art at the expense of the other. The result has been, all too frequently, a serious misinterpretation of his works.

We have too often forgotten that Brahms was as much a product of the Schubert-Schumann as of the Bach-Beethoven tradition. Biographers — Walter Niemann, for example — have indicated that the young Brahms followed the romantic tradition, the older Brahms the classical. However, a closer study of his music discloses no such definite shift of emphasis. The romantic strain is as strong in his later works as in his early ones. But, inasmuch as his mature compositions are generally considered the more cerebral and crabbed, most of the examples of romanticism herein referred to have been chosen from the late works — from opus 70 on.

To indicate what qualities are classical and what are romantic is not easy. At the risk of over-simplification, I should label as classical those characteristics which result from an emphasis upon form and upon established traditions, those which show emotional and imaginative restraint. Romantic qualities are those which emphasize personal feeling and emotional intensity, even at the expense of formal and traditional organization. Less important marks of romanticism are an emphasis upon melody rather than upon harmonic or polyphonic structure, innovations in form, a return to simple, primitive thought and expression. Marion Bauer, in the 1946 edition of *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, defines the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century in these terms: "It was primarily a movement of revolt, but its object was constructive and it was distinctly a reflection of the spirit of the times. Subjective emotion and imaginative vigour replaced the pedantry and artificiality into which the Classic era had degenerated."

As the late William J. Henderson pointed out in his bio-

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graphical sketch of Brahms in 1937 for the first edition of *The International Cyclopedia*, the composer is a "fundamentalist" in method but a romanticist in spirit. The classical traits in Brahms's music are easily recognized. They are a tight organization of the parts, a fondness for the old contrapuntal style of Bach, and a predilection for the sonata form as established by Beethoven.

An example of his capacity for logical organization is his handling of the theme and variations form. Perhaps no other composer ever drained so much melody out of a few simple motifs; he could recast with infinite variety even a comparatively commonplace theme until he had exhausted all its potentialities. In his hands the theme and variations took on a fresh and separate life of its own, becoming an orchestral *tour de force* fit to rank with the overture and tone poem. His *Variations on a Theme by Haydn* is one of the popular numbers in today's symphonic repertoire.

One reason why the *Variations* are so rich is Brahms's understanding of counterpoint and his gift for contrapuntal writing. Thoroughly trained in this school of composition and greatly influenced by Bach's works, Brahms was completely at home in the fugue, motet and canon. Unfortunately, his great choral motets — works like the highly romantic "Warum" motet in opus 74, and the magnificent three motets of opus 110 — are now neglected.

Brahms's fondness for the sonata form is the most important classical influence in his work. But even here a few innovations may be found. He frequently dispensed with the repetition of the exposition, and he shortened the development and recapitulation sections, welding them together with a disregard of form quite prophetic of the future development of the genre. Neither are his two themes always in contrast or in the tonic-dominant relationship that strict observance of this form demands; Brahms often raised to prominence a third theme or the motif of a transitional passage. But he is not primarily an intellectual: his abbreviation of the development section shows that he preferred a new theme or a melodic transmutation of one already used, to

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the analytical process of dissection. And, finally, when Brahms proclaimed Beethoven his master, it was more often the Beethoven of the last period — of the *Ninth Symphony*, of the late string quartets from opus 95 to 135 — that he had in mind, the Beethoven more than a little affected by the new Romantic movement.

The second reason customarily given for calling Brahms a neo-classicist is that he wrote "absolute" music, not "programme" music of the Liszt type. But in reality there is little reason to consider this characteristic a classical one — for "absolute" music may be just as subjective in spirit as "programme" music. So subjective is Brahms's music at times that one is poignantly aware of partaking of the innermost struggle, of sharing the most intimate thoughts, of experiencing the deepest emotions of the composer. For this reason Brahms has been called an intimate writer, and for this reason, too, is at his best in chamber music. Such a piece of "intimate" music is the violin and piano sonata in A major, the "Thun" sonata, opus 100.

Although he never wrote "programme" music, Brahms was in many ways a mood painter. His popular ballades for piano, his songs, and his habit of prefacin ga piece or a movement with a quotation from a poem — all indicate the romantic quality of impressionistic tone-painting. Prefaced to the well-beloved E-flat major intermezzo for piano, opus 117, are these words from Herder's "Volkslieder":

> Schlaf sanft, mein kind, schlaf sanft und schön!
> Mich dauert's sehr, dich weinen sehn.

To catalogue all the romantic characteristics of Brahms would be tiresome and pointless. It is much more valuable to discuss those qualities of romanticism which, emanating from its spirit, are deeply embedded in his music, and which are, consequently, important to the interpreter. Taken individually, these qualities are not necessarily romantic, but when combined, they do add up to romanticism.

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In keeping with the romanticist's love for the simple, primitive art forms is Brahms's true feeling for the folksong. Almost any score of Brahms will disclose this characteristic. With sensitive understanding of the literary ballad, Brahms found inspiration for his first ballade, opus 10, in the old, familiar Scotch ballad of Edward. The intensity of expression, the narrative progress of the theme, and the tragic mood, make the piece decidedly romantic, reminding the listener inevitably of Schubert's *Der Erlkönig*. An example of the ballad influence from his later works is the second piano rhapsody in G minor, opus 79. It is infused throughout with the ballad spirit, having been suggested by Loewe's version of the Archibald Douglas ballad. And the beautiful adagio of the violin concerto in D major, opus 77, Brahms based upon a Bohemian folksong.

In songwriting, of course, he leaned heavily upon folklore and poetry. He once wrote to Clara Schumann that the "ideal is the folksong." And all of his life he collected folk music, assembling, in his last years, a compilation of forty-nine folksongs, which he arranged for solo voice and piano.

An outgrowth of his love of folksong was his interest in national aspects of music. When, as a young man, he accompanied the violinist Eduard Reményi, he became familiar with the music of the Hungarian gypsy — an interest that culminated in the very famous *Hungarian Dances*, written originally as piano duets. Today, those who are totally unfamiliar with the more serious works of Brahms know these Hungarian dances. Another well-loved work is his opus 103 — *Gypsy Songs for Four Voices with Piano Accompaniment*. But even in his serious, abstract music, the Hungarian gypsy influence is present. A most profound work — the clarinet quintet in B minor, opus 115 — owes one of its great moments to this influence. In the middle section of the second movement, the clarinet sings, in its eerie, plaintive tone, a rhapsodic gypsy air. The entire slow movement is one of the most beautiful scores Brahms ever wrote.

Besides the native music of Hungary, and of course his own Germany, Brahms was immensely sympathetic with the artistic claims of Edvard Grieg and Anton Dvořák — two of the great

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nineteenth-century composers to espouse the cause of nationalism in music. And late in life, Brahms became interested in the new ragtime rhythms from the United States. He even declared, according to Robert Havens Schauffler, his intention of composing a piece based upon these rhythms.

Another romantic characteristic is the contrivance and emphasis of unusual rhythms. Devising such rhythmic patterns to surprise his listener amused Brahms. By shifting accents from the strong to the weak beats of the measure and by beginning a theme at an unexpected place, he achieved some startling effects. An example of this accentuation of the weak beat may be found in the third measure of the first movement of the violin and piano sonata in D minor, opus 108. The so-called "Scotch snap" was a favorite rhythm of his, used prominently in the first movement of the string quintet in F major, opus 88.

He often, when repeating a theme or developing it, changed the rhythmic pattern — a device known as "rhythmical transformation," which Walter Niemann says Brahms borrowed from Liszt, who in turn had taken it from Berlioz. However, both Schubert and Schumann used it, although perhaps less consistently or prominently; it was a device of which the romanticists were especially fond. Even Beethoven employed it; there is a beautiful example of it in the last movement of the "Archduke" trio, opus 97 — one of the late works of the master, it will be noticed. A simple illustration from the pen of Brahms occurs in the last movement of the violin concerto, which is in the spirit of an Hungarian dance. The principal theme is restated at the end in an altogether different rhythm.

In his search for rhythmical variety, Brahms made several attempts to break away from the tyranny of the four-bar phrase. For example, the opening theme of the third movement of the *First Symphony*, in C minor, opus 68, is composed of two five-bar phrases — one the question and the other the answer. Finally, in the *andante grazioso* of the piano trio, opus 101, he used another device, radical for his day: he alternated duple and triple rhythm, measure for measure. This he indicated in the time signature by writing both $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{2}{4}$. Then, in the middle

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section, his time signature became 9/8 6/8. This trio is throughout an interesting study, for it shows how the late Brahms was freeing himself more and more in form and letting out the intensely poetic, romantic spirit. It deserves to be better known; without an understanding of it one cannot claim to comprehend Brahms.

A fundamentally romantic characteristic is Brahms's fecundity in melodic creation. It is this quality that we are at present re-discovering. He is, without exaggeration, as rich a melodist as Schubert; his works are full of tunes, which occasionally are sentimental and saccharine. An illustration of this can be found in the early piano sonata in C major, opus 1 — in the middle section of the last movement. Interested always in the melodic line, he was at heart a "linear" or "horizontal" artist. The opening four-bar theme of his familiar E-flat major piano intermezzo, opus 117, is built entirely on the tonic, for the interest lies not in the harmonic structure but in the melody.

Still, his songs furnish the best examples of his melodic gift — although, because of their unorthodox forms and unusual piano accompaniments, they are not fully understood. The pre-eminent example of romanticism in his songs is the ballad from opus 75 for two voices and piano, entitled "Edward" — which is still another treatment of the Scottish ballad, translated by Herder in his *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*. Tragic in tone, it is free, rhapsodic, with a varied accompaniment that sensitively follows the words. Its dramatic intensity rises to an almost unbearable pitch in the screams of the mother.

Another example is opus 62 — four songs from Heyse's *Jungbrünnen*. Written for a mixed *a cappella* choir, these songs are masterpieces of their kind. They are genuinely imbued with depth of feeling, intensity, mood-painting and romantic color. The mood of the woodland scene is tranquil and meditative; the tempest is reflected in the turbulent and agitated piano accompaniment.

But the essence of the romantic spirit is to be found in Brahms's emotional intensity. I use the terms "intensity" and "tension" somewhat in the Stoic sense, indicating that heightened power of

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perception which vitalizes all human activity. In this meaning, "tension" is closely related to the will, which was elevated above the reason by the leading German philosophers from Kant to Schopenhauer to Nietzsche. The last two Brahms often read and mentioned.

It is this quality of emotional intensity that allies Brahms to Wagner; so high a pitch of tension does Brahms reach that he deserves to rank second only to this arch-romanticist. And here lies the secret to a true understanding of Brahms's music. Played without tension, his music becomes at once dry, heavy and commonplace. The driving force and concentration must be present at all times — a requirement difficult to maintain, especially in the long, extended works. No wonder Clara Schumann frequently complained that physically Brahms's music was sometimes too much for her. His moods may vary from a peaceful contentment to an ecstatic passion, but the pitch of intensity always remains high, and the communication of the mood depends upon sustaining the concentrated emotion. The *Third Symphony* — the greatest of the four, and the most romantic — successfully maintains this pitch; however, for the same reason it is the most difficult to perform.

A practical problem, which is a part of this matter of intensity, is tempo. The Brahms tempi are difficult to determine. They need not be rapid, but still the melodic line must move along freely. In order to achieve this effect the interpreter cannot relax his concentration, for, if the intensity is allowed to grow slack, the theme loses its meaning altogether. An illustration of this is the opening folklike theme of the string quintet, opus 88, where, unless the tempo is exactly right, and the melody kept flowing, the "bourgeois" character takes possession, and the theme becomes trite. According to all accounts, Brahms, in playing his own works, carefully adjusted the tempo, changing it readily to suit the demands of each phrase. The metronome he disliked, and, although he maintained strict observance of the rhythmic pattern, he indulged frequently in rubato.

Another element relative to quality of intensity is the composer's treatment of dynamics. A wide range of dynamics is to

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be expected, but even more characteristic is sudden contrast, in which he took delight, and the frequent, short crescendo — a device which creates a kind of constant, quick ebb and flow of the melodic line. And his pianissimo passages are barely more than a whisper, albeit a vitalized one. So Brahms himself played; his piano technique was never conservative or traditional. His widespread, massive chords, his sustained basses, his arpeggios, and his mysterious, intricately interlaced figurations are not idiomatic for the keyboard. He treated the piano as if it were an orchestra in miniature.

All of these remarks apply as well to his chamber music. It shows a passionate intensity, which is not in the "pastel," scholarly tradition of the modern school of chamber music ensemble. Because chamber music has the reputation of being an intellectual art form, it is often played dryly, with subdued coloration and a narrow, dampened range of dynamics. But Brahms splashed tone color on thickly, making the violins fairly scream with ecstasy or pulling out the deepest and darkest tones from the 'cellos.

Not only the thematic material, but even the transitional passages, which Brahms made to shimmer with an eerie mysteriousness peculiar to him, are impregnated with this quality of intensity. No one else has written such quivering, suspended moments in music. To a Brahmsite these passages are especially precious. There are so many examples that it is difficult to choose one; however, the D minor violin and piano sonata, opus 108, contentment to an ecstatic passion, but the pitch of intensity which seems to contain an unusually large number, can furnish an apt illustration in the four-measure *ritardando* just seven measures before the end of the first movement.

Like other romanticists, Brahms believed firmly in inspiration; Carlyle's definition of a genius he deplored. Most of his composing Brahms did first in his mind, not putting pen to paper until the idea could come out whole. Like Beethoven, he often composed while walking in the country. This method of creating contributed much to the emotional intensity, for, relying as he did on inspiration, he composed only at white heat.

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Although the fifty year period since his death has demonstrated that Hans von Bulow's estimate was somewhat too enthusiastic, and that Brahms is not equal to the other two B's — a comparison that Brahms himself always regretted — we are beginning to award him a place among the very great because we are beginning to understand the vital spirit which pervades his works. As long as the romantic side of his nature lay neglected, he seemed dull and third- or fourth-rate. It is the revelation of the romantic spirit within the classic form that has elevated Brahms to his present eminence. In my estimation, he ranks higher than Cherubini, Bruch or Mahler, and deserves a place on the same shelf as Schubert, Debussy and — of all people — Wagner.

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Correction

In the Editor's preliminary remarks introducing the FORUM in the Autumn number, the statement appears that one of the papers included in the FORUM was "in its original form, an address given at the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Trinity Parish in the City of New York." The statement should have read, ". . . at the two hundred fiftieth anniversary."

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Her Mood Around Me

Brewster Ghiselin

Her mood around me is a summer wave
And our room's ceiling is its silk of surface.

Beyond the house, the ledges gaunt with shadow
Forethink a hollower blue crueler at evening.

Along my sleepless thigh her touch is gentle
As the tender underfoot of a small wave.

Wrestling in the arms of currents a headland bell
Is counting the sea today all day, all day.

Her hair is soft before the softer touch
That folds us like a shallowing foam. Sleep, now,

And surf of breath in our dreams fall and lull.
But up what corridors thrums the flood's growl?

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Love in Darkness

Brewster Ghiselin

All day we loved the light, but in the light
We waited for the dark.
Now in the dark
Body by body lies: love lies by love.
Beneath us is the earth, about the earth
The stream of the deep air, beyond the air
Far off the giant sun, beyond the sun
The stars, afar beyond those stars, stars.

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American Scholar Forum . . .

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

U. S. Foreign Policy in the Atomic Age

Vera Micheles Dean

Never before in this country's history — even at the peak of two world wars — was foreign policy so deeply and constantly a part of the consciousness of every citizen. For now it is becoming gradually, often painfully, apparent that foreign affairs are not, as the phrase connotes, something "foreign" to us, something outside our own borders that we can view with approval or alarm, but with no sense of direct participation.

Today foreign affairs are part and parcel of domestic affairs, to the point, occasionally, of becoming indistinguishable one from the other. We are called upon to decide whether we shall all eat less meat so that farmers, who are short of corn, will not be tempted to feed to their livestock the wheat urgently needed by Europe. We have to make up our minds whether it is wiser to send abroad tons of steel to help rebuild the industrial system of the Ruhr — so that, in turn, increased quantities of Ruhr coal can go to France and the Low Countries, which are now importing American coal at prices in dollars they cannot afford — or to use the steel here to build more automobiles. We are told that, in the long run, if foreign markets for our manufactured goods should shrink for lack of dollars, some of our industries would have to reduce production, and hence also employment. In a very immediate sense, the world is on our doorstep.

What are the main features of the foreign policy the United States has been following since Hiroshima, which will always be remembered as the great divide between the pre- and post-atomic age? In analyzing our foreign policy, it is important to bear in mind that the United States, unlike the other great powers — Britain, France and Russia, and, before their defeat, Germany and Japan — has had few traditional concepts to guide

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it in the global activities in which it is now engaged. Before 1914, the United States did not so much take the initiative in world affairs as react to the initiative taken by other nations. The American colonies were too weak to play a distinctive role, except in rebellion against British rule. Once the union was formed, the American people became absorbed in the manifold tasks of conquering the frontier and building a great society in what was once a wilderness; and in the 1860's the nation was rent by civil war.

Only at the turn of the century did this country, by then forging ahead to the position of a leading industrial power, begin to take an active interest in the outside world. The traditional concepts of American foreign policy either concern this country's relations with its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, like the Monroe Doctrine, or were designed to protect American interests abroad, like the "open door" policy proclaimed by Secretary of State Hay in connection with Manchuria. Opposed to intervention in its own affairs or in those of the other nations of the New World, yet increasingly interested in expanding its opportunities for trade, the United States in the past followed a two-fold policy of political non-intervention and growing economic contacts all over the world.

Today it can be said that the United States has five main objectives in world affairs:

1. To aid, within the limits of our economic power, the suffering peoples of countries devastated by war.

2. To maintain, and if possible expand, sources of strategic raw materials we must import from abroad, and markets abroad for American exports.

3. To assure the maintenance of peace and the prevention of war.

4. To prevent the emergence of a new aggressor by timely action.

5. To check the influence of Communism, and to promote, instead, the influence of democracy and free private enterprise.

Of these five aims, probably all except the fifth and most controversial have the wholehearted support of the American people, and are regarded for the most part with favor by the peoples of other nations. Few, even among critics of the United States, would question the sincerity of our intentions. We know, however, that in all spheres of life there is often a difference between good intentions and their implementation. We must therefore ask ourselves, as our foreign policy develops, just how we implement our intentions, and in what respects we might do better than we are doing today.

Aid to Suffering Peoples: We can say, without false modesty, that no other great nation has been so generous in giving aid and comfort to peoples outside its borders. It is officially estimated that, between 1941 and 1947, the people and government of the United States expended over ten billion dollars in various forms of relief. On this point, the record is admirable.

There are, however, some important qualifications to be made concerning our determination to aid other peoples. The work of UNRRA which, in spite of diverse criticisms, performed an excellent job in effecting relief and reconstruction without political discrimination, was terminated in 1946 at the insistence of the United States, which had decided to transfer from the international to the national plane, such relief activities as it intended to continue supporting. No adequate substitute has since been found. The termination of UNRRA's activities in June, 1947, proved a serious blow for a number of countries, notably in Eastern Europe. Relief credits since granted by the United States have been allotted only to countries regarded as "friendly" — that is, with political considerations in mind. The end of UNRRA also spelled hardship for displaced persons in Europe, who must now rely on the newly-formed and as yet inadequately functioning International Refugee Organization.

The United States has also been slow to take action in admitting some of the displaced persons for whom permanent homes must be found outside of Europe, and who are now living under demoralizing conditions in camps supported chiefly by the United States. The Stratton bill, providing for the admission of 400,000 persons during the next four years by making use of quotas unused during the war, has not yet been passed by Congress.

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This despite vigorous support by labor groups, women's organizations, and representatives of all faiths.

Expansion of Trade: The United States is today the leading advocate of freer multilateral trade, and sponsored preparations for the creation of the International Trade Organization. In this connection, the United States has urged abandonment by other countries of discriminatory trade practices and modification of trade restrictions, notably the preferential arrangements between Britain and the British Dominions.

Yet the American public, as represented in Congress, has shown no desire to reduce our tariffs, and the assumption still prevails that while it is good and honorable to sell our goods abroad, it is somehow far less good and honorable to import goods from other countries. The effort also persists to protect certain American products by special duties — as, for example, in the case of wool, an item which looms large in our trade with Australia. Moreover, we continue to maintain a number of discriminatory practices, such as that American goods sent to Europe for relief must be carried in American ships — although other ship-owning countries could earn some urgently needed dollars by carrying these goods.

Nor have we given sufficient consideration to the interests of countries like Russia and Poland, which do not possess our resources, have grievously suffered from the devastation of war, and attempt to revive their economies by bilateral trade arrangements at a time when we are seeking to restore multilateral trade.

The Marshall Plan, when implemented by concrete measures, will mark an important step forward in our economic relations with other nations — both because it recognizes that relief is not enough and that we must aid in the long-term reconstruction of Europe, and because it offers European countries, through revived production, the possibility of repaying our credits, instead of indefinitely remaining recipients of our charity. Repayment of American credits by Europe, however, will prove difficult unless adjustments are made in our tariffs.

Maintenance of Peace and Prevention of War: The United States has undergone a literal revolution in foreign policy since 1919, when Congress voted against American participation in the League of Nations. Today the American people accept the idea of participation in the United Nations and in the specialized agencies of the UN. The question is no longer whether we should take part, but how much of a part we should take. Moreover, this country, which at San Francisco had been just as insistent as Russia on the inclusion in the UN Charter of the right of veto for the permanent members of the Security Council, has, in its resentment over Russia's repeated use of the veto, proposed that the veto no longer apply to any questions concerning maintenance of peace, but only to measures for peace enforcement. In this respect, the United States has taken the lead in whittling down the concept of national sovereignty. It has also made the historic gesture of offering to place the atomic bomb, the secret of whose manufacture it shares only with Britain and Canada, under the control of an international authority.

Here, too, however, some qualifications must be made. The very fact that the United States alone, at the present time, commands to any effective extent the new and deadly weapon of the atomic bomb has unquestionably caused uneasiness throughout the world, even in nations which have no reason to doubt our sincerity and good intentions. The reluctance of the United States to include the bomb among the armaments which the United Nations has undertaken to reduce has caused some surprise in countries other than Russia. And the growing talk about "preventive war" and the dropping of atomic bombs on Russia "before it is too late" have not helped to dissipate the atmosphere of tension generated at Hiroshima.

Timely Action against Aggressor: Closely related to our policy of maintaining peace and preventing war has been the decision of the United States not to repeat the mistakes of pre-Hitler days, and by timely action to check aggression, wherever it occurs. This policy also represents a profound change for the United States. It means that this country

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intends to take a continuing part in world affairs, both through the United Nations and by other means, instead of merely appearing on the scene when a war is under way, and then returning to its own affairs once the fighting is over. The United States even went so far in 1946 as to propose a twenty-five year alliance with Britain, France and Russia to prevent the re-emergence of an aggressive Germany.

More recently the United States has come to identify Russia as the potential aggressor. The Truman Doctrine pledged American aid to all "free peoples" menaced by Russia. In actuality, however, this aid has so far been limited to economic assistance and military advice in Greece and Turkey, although the United States has also promised aid to Iran if it should be subjected to further Russian pressure for oil concessions. The Truman Doctrine appears to be designed to "contain" Russia at certain strategic key points of special concern to the United States, rather than to provide a method of stopping Russia everywhere, as was at first assumed by other countries which regard themselves as menaced by the Russians — for example, China.

Yet since the Truman Doctrine is clearly directed against Russian aggression, it is bound to arouse opposition in Moscow — opposition which, under given circumstances, might lead to armed conflict. It is not yet clear whether the American government has thought through the ultimate implications of the Truman Doctrine in this respect, or has at its disposal adequate military forces, except for the atomic bomb, to implement the doctrine. What is clear is that the United States, by its appeal to the UN Assembly to act on Greece, hopes to obtain international support for what was originally unilateral action. Should such support be forthcoming, the UN might conceivably be transformed into a coalition against Russia.

Checking of Communism and Promotion of Democracy: American opposition to the expansionist moves of Russia is accompanied by a determination to check the spread of communism, and to foster abroad the ideas and practices of democracy and free private enterprise. This policy, too, represents a fundamental departure from the traditional American concept of political non-intervention. The United States is openly giving aid to several countries, with the object of making them less vulnerable not only to Russian pressure from outside, but also to the pressure of native Communists from within. Such aid is regarded by some groups in these countries as a form of intervention.

The policy of checking communism and fostering democracy is complicated by a number of factors. First, the countries of Europe, not to speak of Asia and Latin America, are not at present in a condition to establish an untrammeled free-enterprise system. Even before the war, most of them had introduced some degree of nationalization. Today what we would call the democratic elements in many countries are supporting some form or other of socialism. Europeans nurtured in the political tradition of political liberty reject the political dictatorship of the Communists. Some of their ideas concerning the need for fundamental reform of production and distribution, however, are also held by Communists. Moreover, there is constant danger that, in our attempt to check communism, we may prove unduly tolerant of fascism, which remains deeply rooted in Germany and still flourishes in Spain.

The dilemma confronting the United States, then, is how to aid other countries to avert political dictatorship without, at the same time, stifling the forces of reform. This becomes a matter of particular urgency in connection with the grant of aid under the Marshall Plan — for some Americans have already said that no aid should be extended to countries practicing state socialism. Adherence to this principle might well mean that we shall find no country to aid in Europe, and that the United States, itself born of revolution, will come to be regarded as a bulwark of reaction.

The various contradictions in American policy, in themselves indications of rapid adjustment to new circumstances, are susceptible of correction and adjustment. In the long run, the United States could contribute more to the aid of suffering peoples by lowering

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its bars on immigration and its tariffs on goods than by merely sending them goods. By acting on all occasions through the United Nations rather than unilaterally, the United States could strengthen the machinery for prevention of war, and could allay some of Russia's suspicions. By recognizing that Russia, the other countries of Eastern Europe, and those in the Balkans have reason to fear the resurgence of Germany, the United States might win good will by assisting the recovery of Germany's victims, if not before, at least simultaneously with its aid for the revival of German economy. By attempting to hold in check the war talk that has become dangerously current in the United States, this country could help to ease the existing international tension, which prevents restoration of full production and development of democratic institutions. And, finally, by learning to work with political and economic systems other than our own, we could assure peoples outside our borders that when we speak of "one world" we do not necessarily mean a world patterned on our own system, but rather a world in which all peoples, each according to its own tradition, are free to realize those deep-seated aspirations of mankind which we have proudly called "the American dream."

The American Century?

Saul K. Padover

The great historic event of our time, ranking in importance with the world-shaking Russian Revolution of 1917, is the emergence of the United States as *the* super-power on the globe. In a world that is largely ruined by folly and war, the United States enjoys unprecedented prosperity, stability and wealth. This blessed country has nearly everything today — an industrious population, a fabulous plant that produces 60 per cent of the world's industrial output, a functioning political system, vast resources, most of the earth's gold, and all the atomic bombs. American military striking potential is unrivalled, and American prestige preeminent. There has never been anything quite like it since the golden days of Rome.

Facing the United States on this increasingly shrinking globe is another super-power which is challenging the American giant. The Soviet Union, though far poorer in worldly goods and inferior in military potential, has come out as the only political rival and ideological competitor of the United States, and it is not far-fetched to say that the outcome of the current struggle between the two colossi will determine the fate of mankind for generations.

The struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union is unique in at least two respects. First, no other powers stand in the way. Secondly, in the last analysis the conflict is ideological.

Consider the international situation. For the first time in centuries the world is dominated by only two powers, which confront each other everywhere more or less directly, without any buffer strong enough to cushion shocks or deflect blows. World War II has, among other things, destroyed the balance of power which had operated in Europe for hundreds of years and had given that continent a certain amount of stability. Hitler's war resulted in the destruction of three of the world's seven major powers, and in the impotence of two. Only two survived.

Across the wreckage of once-great nations, the two super-powers have come to glare at each other the way Rome once looked at Carthage. In the United States and in the Soviet Union, people are saying more and more openly that one or the other has got to

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be annihilated, that there is no room on the globe for both capitalists and communists. In both countries there seems to be a decreasing realization, on the part of the most responsible men, that the end result of such *intransigeance* may be two Carthages rather than one Rome.

The reason for this freezing of hostility on both sides of the line — which in Europe is the Elbe — is that a devil has entered the game of power politics. That devil is ideology. In this connection, ideology may be defined as irrational notions phrased logically and held emotionally.

Take, first of all, the Russians. Two things are important to know about them — their geography and their political philosophy.

The Soviet Union is not just a country. It is a land-mass of overwhelming size, bigger than anything on earth. The land of the hammer and sickle bestrides the continent of Asia and the subcontinent of Europe, stretches from the Danube to the Pacific, and occupies one-fourth of the world's surface. In that area live and work nearly 200,000,000 people under harsh conditions and strict discipline. The very geography of the Soviet Union is a *political* fact of the first magnitude.

Speaking geopolitically, this land-mass had been in slow motion for many centuries. Beginning in the Middle Ages with a small ducal cell around Moscow, the Russians spread outward — north, east, south and west — moving like a relentless glacier across steppes and rivers and mountain chains. Like Americans, they occupied vast territories both with gun and plow, and they grew strong and nail-hard in the prolonged battle with enemies and elements. The Russian character, like that of the Americans, was forged in struggle and influenced by vast spaces. Like Americans, Russians think big and bold and have a pronounced ego. But unlike Americans, the Russians have not yet stopped spreading and pushing their frontiers.

The essential point to remember in this connection is that Russian expansion has little to do with the philosophy of communism. Even if there were not a single Marxist in the Kremlin, the chances are that the Russians would still be expanding and infiltrating. They had done it under dukes and czars; they are doing it under Communists and commissars. The facts of geography are stubborn and immutable.

What complicates the picture is that the rulers in the Kremlin are Communists, driven by the most dynamic philosophy of our age and imbued with the passion for proselytizing. The harnessing of Communist dynamism to the vast Russian land-mass is, indeed, one of the epochal events of modern times. Without Russia, communism would have been a strong international influence. With Russia, it is a mighty political force. Under the czars Russia was a giant; under the commissars it is master of a large part of the world.

For communism is not merely a political movement. It is a faith that moves men, particularly the poor and the disinherited. Enemies of communism have called it a materialistic religion, a Christianity without Christ; but however one describes it, there can be no doubt that it is a full-fledged religion with its own special saints, martyrs, demonology, hymnology and iconolatry.

The existence of international communism has complicated the domestic and foreign policies of nearly every country. For it raises the perpetual and seemingly insoluble question: Is communism a *national* radical movement, or is it merely a tool of Moscow? Wherever there exists a Communist party, people are asking: Are Communists honest patriots concerned with national problems, or are they the agents of a foreign power?

Communists have vehemently denied the charge that they are the "foreign legion" of Moscow, or that they take orders from the Kremlin. It is, of course, true that there have been revolutionists and revolutions long before Lenin seized power in Russia, and it is reasonable to assume that radicalism would exist in many lands even if there were no Communist brains in Moscow to direct it. For it is axiomatic that wherever there is misery there is discontent, and there is no lack of misery abroad. On the face of it, therefore, Communists can claim that theirs is a native radical movement originating in the needs of the masses at home.

But there is more to it than that. It is now

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established beyond any reasonable doubt that Communists everywhere faithfully follow the policies and slogans of Moscow, no matter how self-contradictory or how much they may be against any particular national interest. It is no secret that whenever Moscow suddenly changes its "line" or adopts a new slogan, Communists throughout the world somehow promptly turn the same somersault and repeat the identical cliché.

In terms of foreign policy, this means that the Russians have loyal allies deep inside every country in the world — in the Americas, in Asia, in Australasia, in Europe and in Africa. The Communists estimate their total world membership as 18,592,300, all of whom, in the words of the official report, "base themselves on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." This is, indeed, a formidable legion, made the more so by the well-known Communist characteristics of zealotry, obedience and discipline.

Consider now the United States.

Since the common heroic struggle against naziism, American relations to the Soviet Union have gone through three phases. The first we may call the *FDR* phase — the feeling of friendship and the belief that the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. could continue traveling on the path of mutual trust and cooperation. Roosevelt's death and the inexplicable rise of political reaction in the United States shattered the brief honeymoon and led, in both countries, to growing suspicion and defiance.

Then came the *get tough* phase. This was inaugurated by former Secretary of State Byrnes, presumably after he found the Russians obstinate, obstructive and generally ornery. There is no doubt that the Russians have been, and are, tough to deal with, infuriatingly dilatory, and exasperatingly demanding. But the causes lie deeper than mere behavior. For one thing, it is said on reliable authority that President Truman detests the Russians and he has, consequently, pursued a course more nearly in accord with his convictions than with those of his illustrious predecessor. For another thing, the elections of 1946, which resulted in a strongly anti-Left and frankly capitalist Congress, convinced politicians that the country was tired of Rooseveltian liberalism. Right-wingers, therefore, took over nearly all positions of power, and the great anti-Russian reaction was on.

We are now in the third phase — that of *white war*. One can no longer describe U. S. - U.S.S.R. relations as merely "bad" or "deteriorated." They are infinitely worse than that. In everything except shooting, the two countries are at war.

If the white war now raging is more noticeable on our side of the fence than on the Russian, that is only natural from where we are sitting. The symptoms of the war are too numerous to list, and I shall mention but a few. With exceptions that can be counted on the digits of one hand (and then without using all of them), the whole American press is fighting Russia. Little that is favorable to the Soviet Union, its policies or institutions, can possibly get printed — little gets printed except one-sided accounts, distortions and, in the worst newspapers, outright incitement.

We now come to the root of the whole problem — the American obsession with communism. This may be said to constitute the keystone of American foreign policy today.

At some point after the death of Roosevelt, the men who run this country — and today they are conspicuously the representatives of Wall Street, the armed forces, and the top conservative interests — decided to embark upon a world-wide crusade against communism. Hatred of communism is, of course, shared by most of the nation, but the new move had two specific objectives. One was to halt growing Leftist movements as threats to capitalism ("free enterprise"); the other was to eliminate potential Russian allies. Stop Russia by blocking communism, block communism by stopping Russia: these became the Siamese-twin principle of the new foreign policy. This is the essence of the so-called Truman Doctrine.

On the face of it, the Truman Doctrine seems reasonable and proper to a nation dedictated to, and made great by, the capitalist way of life. Clearly, a people devoted to free enterprise, the principle of private property, and the unchecked pursuit of profit will inevitably oppose any group or system — such as the Russian-Communist — that challenges all these values that seem

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natural, and possibly divine, to Americans. The trouble with the Truman Doctrine, however, is not its aims but its frailty. It is a poor instrument to achieve its objectives, and as a weapon in the war of ideologies, it may well turn into a painful boomerang.

To begin with, the Truman Doctrine is negative. It is not *for* anything; it is *against* something. This negativism not only gives the whole policy an air of hollowness and unreality but, what is worse, it leaves the initiative in the hands of the Russians. It reduces Americans to the role of firemen, always waiting for the other side to start a conflagration and then rushing in to extinguish it. This is hardly a worthy role for the world's greatest power.

Secondly, the Truman Doctrine commits the United States in distant areas where this country has no immediate or vital interests — unless, indeed, the whole globe is to be considered a vital American area — and which in a showdown could not be successfully defended. It sticks out the American neck thousands of miles away from home. Greece, Turkey and Iran are cases in point. President Truman's policy has now definitely moved the U. S. frontier deep into the Mediterranean, past the Bosporus and to the very gates of India. This, together with our long-standing commitments in China and the arming of South America, has made the United States take on the defense of the whole non-Russian world almost single-handedly. Since the United Nations has been bypassed and, in effect, ignored, the result is that the United States has committed itself to a position where it can never know rest or peace. For there is always trouble in some part of the world.

Thirdly, the Truman Doctrine is in its very essence provocatory and inciting. Turkey, into which we are now pouring money for arms, and Iran, which we back against Russia's legitimate oil claims, are in the Soviet Union's back door, smack on the Russian frontier. For all practical purposes the Truman Doctrine has placed defiant *Keep Out!* signs along some thousands of miles of Russia's borders. It is, literally, as if the Russians poured money, arms and military missions into Mexico and warned the United States that any move to the south of the Rio Grande would mean war. One can imagine what American reaction would then be. It may be assumed that the Russian reaction is the same. If the Russians have not yet attempted to knock the chip off the American shoulder around the Bosporus, it is because they are temporarily weak. But the provocation remains as a constant source of danger.

Finally, the Truman Doctrine inevitably allies the United States with the forces of feudalism and reaction in many parts of the world. Since the essence of the Doctrine is war against communism, the United States finds itself joined to men like Chiang Kai-shek, Perón and Tsaldaris, whose absorbing passions are also the same. Thus in Greece the Doctrine has committed the United States to the support of a corrupt and fascistic government. A group of decadent royalists and former Nazi collaborators have become, thanks to the Truman Doctrine, the beneficiaries of American financial generosity and the bulwark of "democracy"!

But more serious still is the anti-Socialist aspect of the Truman Doctrine.

It should be clear by now that in this ideological war between capitalism and communism, American capitalism loves socialism as little as it savors communism. If the Truman Doctrine is aimed openly against communism, rather than specifically against socialism, it is only because the former is officially and intimately connected with Russia. But in truth socialism, or any form of it which does effectively nationalize industries or control profits, is just as antipathetic to American policy-makers. What influential men in Washington do not seem to realize, however, is that American-style capitalism is dead in Europe, and probably also in Asia, and that those ruined regions can no longer afford this type of economic system. Whether Washington likes it or not, the Socialist idea in varying degrees has taken deep roots in Europe and will not be easily dislodged by any dollar offensive.

The American decision to shore up capitalist structures everywhere in the Russian path must lead to a constant loss of friends — except among the upper classes and the

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wealthy — and to growing unpopularity. Observers returning from abroad report a steady increase in hostility to the United States. Part of the current anti-American feeling is, of course, due to Communist propaganda. In part it is the normal envy of the poor for the very rich. But a large part of it is also due to plain resentment and suspicion. Under Roosevelt, the United States was loved and admired for its warm humanitarianism and trusted for its liberal leadership; but today this country is so patently reactionary that large sections of the European population, particularly on the Left, have come to distrust and dislike an America whose sole aim is to fight communism and oppose socialism.

Even the idea of democracy, which the United States has been trying to export, and in the name of which President Truman and his aides are waging the anti-Russian crusade, has left a large part of the world cold. Americans, who rightly love their political democracy under which they have flourished, seem to have small realization how little relevance or meaning it has to most peoples. What, for example, does democracy offer to a Chinese coolie who is desperate for a bit of land rather than a piece of ballot paper? What, for instance, does democracy mean to a Yugoslav peasant who for centuries has lived under feudalism? What does democracy promise to a starving Italian worker who knows that the rich had always prospered under that system and the poor had always been poor under it? Liberty is no doubt wonderful to people who are secure and well-fed, but most of the world is still yearning for hope and bread.

To the more sophisticated and progressive elements in Western Europe, and China too, the American notion of democracy is not without its touches of sham and hypocrisy. Americans are unquestionably sincere in their advocacy of democracy and in their belief that it is the best political system possible, but informed foreigners are aware of the more unseemly realities of American life. It is no secret, for instance, that while Americans preach democracy, they also practice one of the worst types of racism to be found anywhere in the civilized world. Men of color everywhere, and they number a billion and a half, know of the shameful treatment of American Negroes and of the indignities and discriminations which colored folk suffer in the land of democracy. European liberals, having witnessed the horrible fruits of Nazi anti-Semitism, are shocked by the widespread educational, employment and residential discriminations practiced against American Jews. Foreign progressives are not unaware that American channels of communication are overwhelmingly on the business and conservative side, and that there is virtually no influential opposition press (Left Wing or Labor). No, American democracy is not an easily salable article in foreign markets.

What is more salable is the Marshall Plan, which Europeans originally accepted with enthusiasm and embraced with alacrity. Here too, however, the worm has been discovered in the apple. Apart from the fact that the Russians, antagonized by a defiant American policy, have refused to participate, Western European nations are discovering that the cost of the Marshall Plan will come high. The price involved is a degree of direct or indirect domestic intervention on the part of the American aid-givers and, what is even more serious, the rebuilding of Western Germany. Europeans, in desperate need of American economic assistance, now know that there are dangerous political strings attached to it. Whether they will be hungry enough to pay the high price called for, particularly that of a revived and ultimately re-armed Germany, remains to be seen.

Thus the two super-powers face each other, with unconcealed hatred, all over the world, and the lines are steadily hardening. Each side is waging relentless political and economic war against the other, with reactionary domestic repercussions as a dangerous byproduct. To this kind of a situation there can be, in the long run, but one outcome. Sooner or later a grave incident will occur and somebody will say, "Put up or shut up!"

A shooting war with Russia is by no means certain to end in an American victory. It may, but it also may not. At best it would be a frightful gamble; at worst an irretrievable calamity. While the United States is, from an

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industrial and technical-military point of view, incomparably stronger than the Soviet Union, the latter also has certain advantages. Among them are a vast and practically unconquerable land (General Eisenhower recently warned Russia that war would be fought on its territory), a patriotic and hard-fighting population, and devoted allies inside every strategic country.

Under the circumstances, war with Russia would be more than a military clash. It would be, in the whole area of conflict, civil war, political war, revolutionary war. It would be class struggle and social upheaval, and — even without the atom bomb — it could well end in the destruction of the whole fabric of civilization, particularly in Europe. In fact, it is hard to see how Europe, or even China, could survive such a war. Even if the United States won a military decision, by knocking out Russian cities and by crippling from the air the Red Army's ability to continue operations, the cost to most of the rest of the world would be fatal. The Greeks had a word for such a victory — Pyrrhic.

Peace and the whole course of the future, as the *New York Times*' conservative military commentator Hanson Baldwin admitted recently, "depend more upon us than upon Russia." For it is the United States, and not the Soviet Union, that today holds the reins of power. The heart of the question, therefore, is whether this country today has the will, the moral greatness and political wisdom to use its immense power for the good of all. So far, it cannot be said that Roosevelt's successors have risen to the occasion. Quite the contrary.

The Russian challenge is, indeed, serious. Nothing is gained by minimizing it, or by suggesting that it is easy of solution. But there are ways and means of meeting it, and it cannot be asserted that our policy-makers have seriously tried them. One of them is to strengthen democracy at home by social and economic legislation, to serve as a salutary example and model. Another course is to support progressive forces abroad, even if they are Socialist, instead of backing reactionary elements, as we have been doing in Latin America, in China, in Greece, in Turkey, in Italy. A third course is really to try conciliation with Russia and, instead of the present provocatory truculence, to prove to the badly hurt Russian people that we are not their enemy. Such a program would, in all probability, require a thorough change in men and policies in Washington. The election of 1948 will give the American people their chance, perhaps their last one, to rise to the greatness that destiny is thrusting upon them.

Comments

Mrs. Dean

Mr. Padover's vigorous article, in which he pulls no punches, is an excellent analysis of the increasingly harassing problem of this country's relations with Russia. I do not agree with him, however, that this is the paramount problem of American foreign policy; nor do I agree that the struggle between the United States and Russia is unique because "in the last analysis the conflict is ideological."

To take up the second point first. Surely, there is nothing unique about the American-Russian ideological conflict. History is strewn with clashes of ideas — between Roman paganism and nascent Christianity; between Western Christianity and Islam; between the Catholic Church and the Ref-

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ormation; between feudalism and the French Revolution; between the monarchical Concert of Europe and the rising forces of revolution in the Old World and republican government in the New; between slave-owners and abolitionists; between Western democracy and the militarism of Wilhelm II, Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito.

Nor did the ideological conflict of capitalism and communism, or democracy and the police state, however we choose to describe it, which has existed since 1917, assume until now the character of a "cold war." Why? Partly, as Mr. Padover rightly points out, because other great powers which might have cushioned the clash have disappeared or dwindled in strength as a result of World War II. But more important than this, because the strategic and economic interests of the United States and Russia now clash at many points all over the globe — in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially Greece and Turkey; in the Near and Middle East; in Manchuria; in Korea; in Germany and Japan — to mention only the points that are particularly sore. Ideas today, as always, are precious stakes and powerful weapons in the international struggle. But so are strategic bases, political influence, new engines of warfare, and scarce raw materials, notably oil.

It is essential to stress this point, for I believe that even if the Soviet system were abolished tomorrow, Russia, under any other government, at the present stage of its history, would have conflicts with the United States — as Tsarist Russia did with Britain in Persia, India, Afghanistan and Tibet, until the two countries agreed to divide up contested areas into spheres of influence in 1907.

Ideologically, moreover, the United States is in conflict not with Russia alone. Many American spokesmen in both political parties have expressed opposition to various forms of socialism, notably in Britain and France — which, at first glance, would seem akin to the United States in their political and economic traditions — and this in spite of the fact that the Socialists of Western Europe have clearly demonstrated their aversion for communism.

This brings me to my second point of disagreement with Mr. Padover. And that is that the problem of relations with Russia is not the problem of American foreign policy, as he contends, but only *one* of the problems. There has been a growing tendency, amounting to an obsession, to focus all our attention on Russia. This tendency has, on the one hand, inflated Russia out of all proportion in the eyes of the rest of the world and, on the other, has seriously distorted our foreign policy.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, although differing fundamentally in their premises, are motivated by the same objective: to stop Russia and check communism. The first attempts to do so by piecemeal economic and military assistance in areas within the immediate radius of possible Russian expansion or infiltration; the second by long-term reconstruction designed to strengthen countries still outside the Russian orbit for successful resistance to the pressure of Russia and of native Communists. The weakness of this approach, as clearly indicated by Mr. Padover, is that the United States tends to dissipate its efforts and resources in many directions, without actually coming to grips with the main problem.

The main problem is how to devise an over-all foreign policy adequate to the constructive fulfillment of this country's newly acquired role of a great power with continuing interests all over the globe. As former Secretary of State Stimson so penetratingly said in a statesmanlike article in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the essential question is: "Can we make freedom and prosperity real in the present world?" And the United States would still have to answer this question "if there were not a Communist alive." Once we see the need for developing a foreign policy based on considered understanding of American principles and objectives, and not merely on reflexes to the principles and objectives of other countries, many of our present problems, including that of our relations with Russia, will be — not solved, for no human problems are ever definitively solved — but placed in intelligible focus.

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Mr. Padover

If, as Mark Twain said, it is difference of opinion that makes horse races, Mrs. Dean and I will do little racing, for I admit that I am in substantial agreement with her general position. But there are questions of emphasis and of omission which, in themselves, assume something of the quality of viewpoint. Mrs. Dean has de-emphasized some aspects of the problems and omitted, or barely touched, others. Thereby, I think, she threw the subject considerably out of focus.

I shall mention but three points to illustrate her omission and under-emphasis.

First, she has failed to stress the dynamism of the Soviet Russian state and the dogmatic aggressiveness of international communism. It is not, in my opinion, possible to evaluate the world situation without taking both dynamic Russianism and equally dynamic communism into account. For good or ill, these are forces that keep moving and fighting. One may oppose them, or one may join them, but ignore them one cannot.

Secondly, Mrs. Dean has overlooked the dynamism of American capitalism. Like Russian communism, so American capitalism has its own inner compulsions and drives; and it is today definitely on the offensive. To talk about American policy, foreign or domestic, and to ignore the dynamics of capitalism is, it seems to me, to depart from the realm of reality. For American capitalism today is in the monopoly stage, forming a concentration of immense economic power in a few hands — just as Russian communism means the concentration of political power in a few hands — and influencing both government and the channels of opinion and communication. American capitalism, together with the business community, are master of the land, and the American people acquiesce in the mastery. This situation may or may not be desirable, but it certainly cannot be ignored in any evaluation of our conflict with the Soviet Union.

Thirdly, while Mrs. Dean does mention the existence of socialism and communism in Europe, she does not give those movements sufficient weight. Yet both these offshoots of Marxism have deep roots abroad and will not be easily fitted into the current American capitalist-business pattern. America's known hostility to any form of socialism has already earned for this country the reputation of being the champion of reaction, and is bound to antagonize potential friends and allies. This American antipathy to anything connected with social control and economic planning is an important element in the shaping of foreign policy, and will have serious repercussions abroad.

In this connection, Mrs. Dean's statement that Europeans nurtured in political liberty reject Communist political dictatorship is, I believe, oversimplified and misleading. If it applies anywhere, it applies to the British Isles only, and not to the Continent. Communism is rejected or accepted for a variety of reasons, of which political libertarian traditions are but one, and perhaps a minor one. The fact is that the most powerful Communist movements outside of Russia are to be found in countries where political liberty had once reigned triumphant: in France, in Czechoslovakia, in Norway — to mention but a few. Economic conditions play an essential role in the growth of communism. When people are hungry, they don't agitate for a free vote — they cry for bread, and they are not very much worried if it is labelled "Red."

But when all this is said, I repeat that in essentials I am in agreement with Mrs. Dean.

In the Spring Number . . .

The AMERICAN SCHOLAR FORUM will present a discussion of radio in the United States.

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The Reader Replies . . .

The Reader Replies *regularly carries comments by readers on the contents of the preceding American Scholar Forum. In the Spring number, for example,* The Reader Replies *will contain letters about the debate in the current number on the subject: "American Foreign Policy." In addition, beginning with this number, miscellaneous letters of comment on various articles, heretofore appearing under the heading, "Our Readers Comment," will be incorporated into this department. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* The American Scholar, *5 East 44 Street, New York 17, N. Y., and should not exceed 300 words in length. Because of limitations of space, the editors cannot guarantee to print all communications received. Letters intended for publication in the Spring number should be mailed before January 1. (Editor)*

THE HUMANITIES—TODAY AND TOMORROW

Man's Need for Faith in Man

As one of the members of the conference held at Princeton on "The Humanistic Tradition in the Century Ahead," I must confess that my reactions were diametrically opposed to those expressed by Professor O'Gorman in his "Letter on the North Americans." While he missed in that symposium a straightforward facing of the (to him all important) question, "What is man?" (the lack of which he attributes to the absence of metaphysical anxiety among the North Americans, and to their pragmatism and pedagogical behaviorism), I came back from the same meeting with my spirits restored by the consistent expression of faith in the humanities and in the "humanistic man," on the part of the hundred of us. My basic point of dissension with O'Gorman probably originates in a different point of departure: he had evidently expected to find a convention of philosophical anthropologists — and was disappointed; I went to find a convention of humanists, and my hopes were realized. Moreover, he may have come too firmly convinced that a learned assembly in the United States must be largely inspired by Jamesian philosophy (as if Santayana and Whitehead were not also representative of American thought). But I, for my part, soon saw that there was embodied in this convention what is all too often missing in academic life, with its emphasis on outward activity and its passivity toward essentials — a whole-hearted belief in humanistic values. And, before this assembly, O'Gorman was not, as he suggests, "a Luther before the Diet" (for his words of criticism, respectfully received, were surely not considered heretical), but rather, a thinker who proposed to raise an issue upon which the whole group had already tacitly passed its decision. That the convention was pragmatic in its approach, to some extent, cannot be denied; but in my opinion this was justified: it was precisely because the members of the program committee took for granted a belief in the humanities, that they centered on the (rightly pragmatic) question: How will the humanist *behave* in the atomic age to come? — a question rather clearly suggested in the title of the convention itself.

As for O'Gorman's opinion of American

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intellectuals (an attitude somehow connected with his misinterpretation of the convention): that, in the United States, the museum director, the university professor, the scientist, are proselytizing, intolerant, self-canonized missionaries who confuse the activity of man (and consequently their own activity) with that of God — I would say in O'Gorman's native Spanish: ¡*Ojalá*! It is my opinion that there is, in the American university, far too little belief in the redeeming efficacity of humanism, or of art; every day I see half-hearted teachers of the humanities who rest their lives on sham industriousness, on administration for administration's sake, on extrovert society life, instead of being moved by the conviction that the divine may be revealed in their teaching of Plato or Dante. It is just such tendencies of unbelieving pseudo-scholarship that my colleague in Romania, Professor Nitze, had in mind when he quoted the words of Rabelais: *Science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme?*

In this respect, the realization gained at the Princeton bicentennial, that there exist, scattered from coast to coast, at least a hundred men and women bent on maintaining, in our time, the continuity of ancient and Christian thought, was a magnificent object-lesson on North American civilization. A meeting of scholars (incidentally, not at all preponderantly Anglo-American) famous the world over, of humanists such as Jäger, I. A. Richards, Lovejoy, and of scientists such as Shapley or Wolfgang Köhler, is a demonstration of intellectual power and sureness of purpose which is not to be dismissed by the traditional pat on the back for the well-intentioned, naïve, somewhat befuddled "North Americans." The humanists who can look back to a life's work in the service of ideas such as παιδεία or the Great Chain of Being; or the scientist who has shown that the physiological nature of man is not entirely divorced from mind, with which it shares purposive action — these have already asked themselves and answered, in their different ways, the question, "What is man?" (As for O'Gorman's sweeping indictment of that part of the program devoted to mass-instruction [an ideal which, to me, represents no *trahison des clercs*] — I would say that the particular extravagances of the television enthusiasts were received with smiles by the audience: foreign critics of the United States often overlook the American capacity for self-criticism.)

As for the model which Professor O'Gorman would propose for the treatment of the only mattering question, "What is man?" — he finds this in Martin Heidegger's philosophy. Accordingly, the Princeton convention had to prove a crushing disappointment to him. A German convention, on the other hand, would most surely have discussed at length the relation between existentialism and the humanistic tradition, with the result that Heidegger's metaphysics would have been proved, somehow, to be the very cornerstone of the (glorious German) humanistic tradition — or else, perhaps, the very antithesis and refutation of the (questionable non-German) humanistic tradition! Master Martin himself has shown how easily his anthropology inspired by metaphysical anxiety could, by verbal tricks, be transformed into a Nazi program of political action, i.e., into that un-Christian brand of "pragmatism" which was to lead to suicidal Nibelungen nonsense. The North American brand of pragmatism has at least preserved a Christian belief in ethics and in the perfectibility of man.

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The Humanities and the "Great Society"

One question that kept persistently recurring to me as I read the articles in the autumn Forum was: Who are the "we" to whom these authors so persistently refer? When President Chalmers says (I use the statement merely as an example), "We stand now upon so many shoulders that we are for the moment top man on a totem pole," he is perhaps thinking, as Pascal did, that the "whole succession of human beings throughout the course of the ages must be regarded as a single man, continually living and learn-

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ing." But this is obviously mistaken, though there was greater excuse for saying it when Pascal wrote than there is now. Pascal must have been thinking really of the small minority, the educated classes, who transmitted the cultural heritage in the arts and sciences from one generation to the next. The great masses of people, although they passed on their local customs, were hardly the bearers of this culture. It was a few thousands of people who within their generation decided that Milton was a great poet, or that God had said " 'Let Newton be' and all was light." And this culture had a living unity — a unity in the interests, knowledge and sensibility of the persons who shared it. This is obvious in the dialogues of Plato: or, if we imagine a conversation, say between Franklin, Adam Smith, D'Alembert and Lessing, we know that they too would have had a common universe of discourse. They would have been intelligible to one another.

That unity persisted at least until the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Now, as the articles in the Forum on the humanities only too well indicate, it has virtually disappeared. Two correlative things have happened: the rising tidal wave of democracy has produced its own mass culture, a common medium of the movies, the radio, the comics and the sports page, while the sciences and the arts have retreated into what Professor Stewart justly called "the dead end of specialization." Joyce, Berg and Picasso are as surely for "the few" as are Einstein or Freud or Keynes. In the past it was the humanities that bound together all special achievements within the matrix of a common *humane* understanding. That D'Alembert was a mathematician, Franklin a statesman, Smith an economist or Lessing a dramatist meant that each could supply his own enrichments to their universe of discourse.

This, it seems to me, is the most vital question (it was Whitman's question) "we" can ask about the present and the future of the humanities. How can this divorce between the esoteric culture of the few and the crude culture of the many be ever overcome? If it is not, the "many" will do away soon enough with the "few." The humanities, arts and sciences alike, have no future unless they can escape being entrapped in "the dead end of specialization."

Gail Kennedy
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Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts

Much Ado and No Explanation

Mr. Edmundo O'Gorman appears to be piqued by the manner in which members of the Princeton conference allowed his suggestions to go unheeded. Whence his long, disdainful and — so it appears to me — angry letter about the anti-metaphysical will of the North Americans, their deification of man and their faith in education. Perhaps an English critic who finds himself somewhat detached from both parties (or *of* them both, which would come to the same thing) may usefully comment.

The reason, I thought, that no one took up Mr. O'Gorman's proposed topic, "The Historicity of Man," was a shrewd general suspicion that no one — not even Mr. O'Gorman himself — would have found much to say to the point.

Each of Mr. O'Gorman's returns to his suggestion awakened and disappointed the same expectation that he would develop it. And this "Letter on the North Americans" does exactly the same thing again. What a missed opportunity! He does indeed locate at Heidegger's "fearful crossroads," "the point of departure for any fruitful deliberation on the humanities." But, alas, he does not depart along any of them! And in spite of the big-looking claim, "This is the very axis of present day philosophical thought," he omits to set forth even one of the "four or five different and opposed conceptions of man" which the conference failed to discuss. (The propagandist suggestions of "axis" are nowadays rather unlucky.) He offers, instead, some pages of condescension and polite contempt and then a patch of what I would describe as "wordy silence" on "that primary reality, a primary reality which alone can offer them higher inspiration. . . ." The four dots tell the story.

"These North American intellectuals, so sincere and animated by good will," know, I

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believe, too much about the techniques of advertisement writing to be taken in; and I would say that Mr. Stewart, for example, in that assembly which was "so noticeably silent," was much more deeply concerned with "the historicity of man" than Mr. O'Gorman.

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Humanists Are Teachers, Not Preachers

Whether educators who are committed to the liberal arts like it or not, their enterprise is essentially secular and not to be confused with religion. This is especially true of the person interested in the humanistic tradition.

The liberal arts college was founded and in some ways continues to grow on the conviction that Socrates is more right than Jesus. To be liberated has, more often than not, meant liberation from dependence upon religious revelation and sanctified authority. In this revolt the liberal college raised sense-perception and reason to the level of authority, and the tests for truth became natural rather than supernatural.

I would, therefore, take particular exception to some of the statements made by President Chalmers in his Forum article on Christian education. For education to be Christian, it must be much more than "teaching and learning the life of Christ and Christianity." To learn such things is not only desirable but absolutely necessary for anyone interested in the problems of history and contemporary society. It can, however, be a wholly secular learning, and I would maintain that in any truly liberal college it should be. The question is not the content of the study, but the way in which it is approached. If Christian mythology and history are considered to be a revelation of some superhuman agency for the guidance of blinded men, the result is theology and proclamation rather than liberal education. Whether churchmen like it or not, there is still a difference between preaching and teaching.

The reemphasis upon the humanities is an attempt to reintroduce the study of values into the curriculum of our colleges. This concern of the humanist is often interpreted as a revival of religious interest. In most cases it is representative of an increased awareness of various facets of human concern which the more narrow educators of the past few generations have overlooked. The contemporary humanist is interested in finding wisdom wherever he can, and he has learned through hard experience that certain aspects of man's life which look least scientific can have a large deposit of meaningful moral and spiritual truth. But to say this does not commit him to the kind of supernatural philosophy expounded by the churches. Rather he may, and, I warrant, in most cases does, view the history and thought of religion from a naturalistic perspective. This is a *revival* of interest *in the study* of religion rather than an *increase* of religious interest.

The true humanist must still take Protagoras at his word and make "man the measure of all things." Science (physical and social), art, literature and religion must all be thought of as human enterprises which give insight into the nature, destiny and quality of human existence. High science, high literature, and high religion must be defined and clarified with an eye to the development of the total character. Each in its own way contributes to man's understanding of himself and his direction for the future. But to fall back upon any one of the great areas of human concern as being finally authoritative, or even worse, as being supernaturally sanctioned, is to give up the quest for liberation and to accept bondage.

The humanist tradition commits its protagonists to a search for understanding, and even more, to a conviction that through understanding virtue will develop. To say that values are inevitably linked to the belief in a *particular kind* of supernatural deity and that the only way this deity can be approached is through a *particular kind* of religious worship is to cry for the security of faith without thought. For better or for worse, the humanist cannot agree. He, like the religionist, must operate within the structure of his presuppositions, and he must af-

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firm his faith in man's integrity and in man's ultimate ability to solve rationally the problems of meaning, freedom and necessity which his historical existence poses. This is not cheery optimism, but it does offer an adventure in learning and discovery, of invention and application, which is hard to find in the competitive faiths of our time. The glory of man, difficult and dimly seen though it may be, is still, for the humanist's creed, the chief end of man.

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The Humanities in Search of Humanists

If we addicts of the humanities are to hold our own in discussion with scientists both plain and social, we need an impressive and reasonably accurate name for ourselves. "Humanitist," though probably accurate enough, is hideous; "humanitarian" is ludicrous. But "humanist," outrageously flattering in the historical sense, is so versatile that it can, and already sometimes does, mean a specialist in the humanities. In the light of what our scientific colleagues writing in the autumn Forum expect of us, and of what, in our better moments, we expect of ourselves, this is the correct word.

As a humanist, then, I agree that too many of us are "uninformed" in fields outside our own. The trite comment — that natural science has its competent cooks and social science its ambulatory encyclopedias — is beside the point. The narrow specialist in these fields can do his chosen job adequately, whereas "narrow humanist" is self-contradictory. The humanist should learn about man from the biologists, psychologists and sociologists, as well as from the philosophers, poets and saints. He should also understand the universe with the astronomers and physicists. The order, however, is large, and though a few first-rate humanists may occur in each generation, many of us, as Mr. Shapley suggests, will simply have to admit our limitations. But none of us needs be as limited as many of us are.

This is not to suggest a regime of superficial smattering accompanied by incompetence in our own field, though certain trivialities, such as the precise dates of the *Blutezeit* of Felicia Hemans, will be submerged. The point is rather that American scholars should forthrightly repudiate the current underrating of the capacity to learn. Here the humanists, whose masters in the not-dead past have assumed that high achievement is proper to man, are the logical leaders. And if we realize that ours is the most exacting of disciplines and assure all postulants that "soft-handed dilettanti" are not wanted, the humanities will have both a present and a future.

Thanks, then, to the scientists who have challenged us.

Incidentally, I seriously hope that this note will help to quiet the apprehensions of Professor O'Gorman. If his analysis is correct, we are indeed finished; but the humanists whom I know do not grow ecstatic about televising the Mona Lisa.

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The Humanists' Sin of Omission

The authors who have participated in the Forum on the humanities are all worried, even Mr. Shapley, the astronomer, who is so far from being only an astronomer. Something is now being threatened, they feel, which is essential to human living in any serious sense. Apparently, this something is closely related to what we call the humanities, and the humanities are losing ground on all fronts. With friendly irony, Mr. O'Gorman points to symptoms which characterize the process in the United States; but as a matter of principle it seems to occur everywhere. Mr. Chalmers regrets that Christianity is losing its hold on the people. He realizes, however, that the factors which operate against his creed must just as well affect not only other forms of religion but also the foundations of secular culture.

I do not see that mere worrying helps. What causes the trouble? For the most part,

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the threat issues from philosophies, and quasi-philosophies, which spread like clouds around science. These clouds make breathing hard for the humanists. Between such philosophies and science as such, there is, most probably, no necessary connection. Rather, as one set of facts or another is temporarily emphasized in research, corresponding notions begin to coalesce, and to form the clouds of the time. Mr. Shapley criticizes the artist, and indirectly also the humanist, for "looking neither back to the fossil bones of his mammalian progenitors, nor forward to the galactic rotation," for being obsessed "with his own mess of matter temporarily alive," for "marketing some hypothetical aura that . . . hovers round his allotment of nitrogenous compounds," and so forth. Well, here we have the cloud — or part of it. If I understand correctly, it throws its shadow on Mr. Shapley no less than on the humanists.

But what is threatened? and how is it to be defended? Unfortunately, when trying to indicate what is in danger, I could say only: something, related to the humanities, which is essential to living in any serious sense. A curious way of talking — but few humanists would do much better. For, while one philosophy after another has sprung from science, the humanities hardly produce any philosophy. Now, among other things, philosophies serve to clarify premises, concepts and principles, which characterize provinces of knowledge. This work has not been done in the humanities, because the humanists abstain from developing a philosophy. Nor is the omission an accident. People who are in love with colorful periods, styles, languages and literatures naturally dislike the general, the abstract and the system, which go with the task of philosophy. Nevertheless, in our time precisely such things are needed if the humanists are clearly to recognize their own main issues, and if they want to defend themselves against the threats which come from other people's systems. In this battle, which is about concepts and principles, how can the humanists win, how can they even fight, if they have no language for the purpose? I do not, of course, suggest that sociology deliver what seems to be missing. As now conceived by some, this discipline hardly constitutes a humanity. None but a true humanist ought ever to try his hand on the suggested task. But surely, there must be some premises, some concepts, some principles, however implicit at this time, which apply to more than one beautiful subject. Just why are Andrea del Sarto, the revolution of 1789 and Rainer Maria Rilke worth studying — in fact, no less than nuclear physics? As soon as humanists can tell explicitly, they will probably find that the cloud is thinning above their heads.

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The Quest for Certainty

Dr. Shapley, lost in youth to literature, won to science, illustrates brilliantly the quest for certainty that makes so many turn their backs on the humanities and look to more measurable things. With science you know where you stand — on the hard bedrock of objectivity. It is good and solid, good *because* solid. Not to mention the many services performed by technology, science gives answers. Admit that the humanities are not useful, like technology, and take them as comfort, as ends, not as means: what answers do they give? In fact, what is there in literature, say, that you can hang onto, be sure about? The objective data of a poem are quickly exhausted; after you have counted the lines and figured out the metrical scheme, the poem is still staring you egocentrically and challengingly in the face. You read it and may not even find a moral. For often there is not that to carry away, or readers disagree as to what it is, or, as with the different systems of philosophy, one great book contradicts another.

Especially with those who put the emphasis on certainty rather than on quest, the case for the humanities will look hopeless. The one who longs for stability will, if he continues to follow the humanities, turn up some narrow bypath and specialize. He will

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try to corner a certainty. The smaller the area, the more certain he will be of a catch, using the inapplicable net of science — counting and cataloguing and pinning up externals high and dry.

This of course is what happens — all that happens — in many a dissertation and learned article, and in many a classroom. The high school teacher who considers that Shakespeare is too old for his students would say that he is specializing in the present.

Dr. Shapley knew what he was looking for and turned frankly to science. Others put the humanities in the false position of functioning as a science. This is not warfare between two sides; this is masquerade on the part of one.

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Differences in Attitudes

The variety of humanistic interests is reflected in the diverse subject-matter of the contributions to the autumn Forum on the humanities — metaphysics, science, society and morals. The article on science deals also with aesthetics, a welcome addition to the list, since works of literature and of other arts are essential to the humanistic tradition as specific expressions and records of men and societies past and present. Humanistic studies are directed largely to the interpretation and in some measure, I hope, to the creation of such works.

The three North American contributors would all seem to be subject to the reproach of being pragmatists in the light of their Mexican colleague's existentialist metaphysics, but they are divided among themselves as to the "practical" purposes of the humanities. For Messrs. Stewart and Chalmers the ends are ethical — the formulation of social aims and ideals, and the discovery of the "norm in our nature." For the scientist, Mr. Shapley, "the maintenance and elaboration of the humanistic tradition," described in the terms of aesthetic experience, is an end in itself.

This difference in attitudes is clear when they are applied to the interpretation of works of art, with such results as Mr. Chalmers' concern with the moral and religious character of tragedy and Mr. Shapley's "enjoyment of the arts and crafts." Can it be that we must choose either moral edification for a distraught world, or pure science and pure art sharing the ivory tower? Neither party would apparently have it so. The one disclaims didacticism and prizes imaginative sensitivity. The other recognizes below the sensuous surface of things deeper implications that "tempt the unwary to speculate on Creation" and (perhaps) on man's place in the cosmic processes. Would he add also, "and on man's relation to man"?

Sensation, emotion and thought all have a part in the experience of poetry, sculpture and other art, experience which is an end in itself but which at the same time, through its very aesthetic intensity, stimulates, refines and enriches our interpretation of man and of his environment, preparing us both for further aesthetic and intellectual experience and for judgment and action.

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The Past Lights the Future

The four stimulating articles on "The Humanities — Today and Tomorrow" should be a reading "must" for all educators and teachers. They independently show or suggest the problems and potentialities of the humanities in our culture.

One of the most important, possibly the most important characteristic of this age is man's search for peace. Will it be as fruitful, this search for freedom from war, as were the great periods in history when man was searching for the freedom of the mind and freedom of the spirit, and political freedom and freedom economically and socially? I believe it will be a greater era than any of the others, though its success will be tempered by the approach of the educators as they today prepare the leaders and followers of tomorrow. But our teachers and curriculum planners must stop yielding to the pressure of the public's demand for specializa-

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tion of training and for concentration in the "so-called" practical courses. By yielding, we deny our youth of the privileges of the great ideals and ideas of other generations — by yielding, we delay the fuller realization of man's current goal, a world that has unity and peace. By yielding, the humanities fade.

Tomorrow is a projection of our yesterday. During our yesterdays a pioneer crossed the plains of America to found a college (Linfield) in the wildernesses of the Pacific basin. He left a message of importance for his generation and all generations, as he penned these five beliefs:

(1) That we live in a morally ordered universe where moral and spiritual values have currency; (2) that there is a brotherhood of all men emanating from a fatherhood of God; (3) that there is inestimable value in the integrity of the enlightened mind, and that man is endowed with the ability to reason, but this endowment must be founded upon a control of his desires; (4) that man possesses unrealized potentialities that can be developed through constructive labor, healthy social relations and an indomitable will to serve; and (5) that men have the ability to learn to govern themselves, and that the will of the people, when rightly informed, is for the common good.

These seem to be the principles upon which democracy is founded, and peace assured to an atomically scared world. The new pioneers need these pioneers of the past.

The present world, to understand itself, must study the impact of the great ideas, the expressed ideals, the discoveries of science, and the evolution of society and the interrelatedness of men. Assuredly, our history and literature are also replete with sordid practices, hypocrisies, stupidities and failures. But, if we do not listen to the teachings of failure, we shall never write the books of success.

Let America and its youth, as they prepare for leadership, in a war-sick and disillusioned world, study the great teachings of our past, that they may reflect light on the roads to the future. Said Emerson, "Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force; that thoughts rule the world."

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS

The Devil Is Dead, and What a Loss!

Congratulations on Gerald W. Johnson's "The Devil Is Dead." It stands, along with Professor Commager's recent article in *Harper's*, as testimony to the fact that, in these inquisitorial times when they are most needed, our intellectual magazines have not surrendered their vital role. Mr. Johnson, at any rate, is one intellectual who has not gone native in the "prevailing mental climate" of hysteria.

I cannot of course entirely share his lighthearted view of the government clerk's troubles, since I was not only one of them, but one who has already served six weeks in a Federal penitentiary and may soon be back to complete a one-to-three year sentence, essentially for the crime of entertaining "dangerous thoughts." Mr. Johnson expects the current wave of "loyalty" persecutions to be of short duration only because, he implies, it will be displaced by the flood tide of actual war. Perhaps I should consider myself lucky in the prospect of sitting this one out, but I do believe that the whole horrible process could be stopped if there were more writers like himself, more magazines, more public figures, to speak up against this solemn idiocy and say "But the King is naked!"

Because they will need the ammunition of facts, I will presume to offer my own case in evidence. I entered wartime government service early in 1942 and, including my service with the Army from 1943 to 1945, did not leave it until my voluntary resignation from the State department in November, 1946. Six weeks later, I was notified that I had been *discharged* for radicalism, and a few weeks later still, I was indicted for having made false and fraudulent statements to the government.

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The government alleged against me that, whereas I had been a member of the Communist Party in 1940–41, I had concealed this fact in 1942. My charge against the government is that it had tampered with its own documents, convicted me in an atmosphere of prejudice on the testimony of a police spy, and in its eagerness to established a "test case" for use against other government employees, violated the statute of limitations — one of the principal structural elements in our supposed edifice of civil liberties.

The matter of time and timing are rather important in my case. The alleged crime of false statement was four years old at the time of the indictment, the testimony brought into the court was six years old, but my real crime, which was never mentioned at the trial, was very recent. For, on my own time, I had just produced a documentary film entitled *Deadline for Action* for the United Electrical Workers — CIO — a film critical of monopolies and of our present foreign policy, and one which had made something of a stir in the witch-hunting press. Mr. Johnson may discover in my person an interesting example of the merging of the attacks upon unorthodox "jobholders" and unorthodox artists.

The government action against me came just in time to cripple my new film business, and deprive me of liberty, to say nothing of depriving my wife and children of support. But for what other purpose was I pursued into my retirement from government service by an administration that still piously claims, in its "loyalty" dismissals, to be taking only the minimum of negative precautions? The government prosecution, by the way, freely acknowledged that my wartime services had been considerable and praiseworthy.

My present situation is that the Court of Appeals has reversed the trial judge's refusal to grant me bail pending appeal. Mr. Arthur Garfield Hays is handling my defense, and we intend, if necessary, to carry the fight to the Supreme Court.

Mr. Johnson wrote: "What we fear . . . is that the American people are about to get out of hand." *We*, of course, are those among us who hated Franklin D. Roosevelt with a blind hatred, and who think that at last the time has come to turn the clock back and wipe out all his works. I cannot think that this heritage of progress and good will at home and abroad will be so easily rooted out.

Carl Marzani
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Your leading article in the current issue — "The Devil Is Dead, And What A Loss!" by Gerald W. Johnson — is a superficial, contradictory, aimless piece of pish-posh. It would hardly be worth further comment, but for the fact that it appears in a magazine that ought to be representative of American thinking. One reads with astonishment that "the last two years have seen a veritable epidemic of attacks on books, plays and other forms of expression," and then one looks in vain for evidence of such attacks.

That is the shrill beginning of a series of silly statements. "Strategically the United States would seem to be safer than it has been at any time since 1776." In an age of rocket and atomic warfare, no country in the world was ever so insecure as it is today. "Economically, the country is in a far sounder position than it was in, say, 1933." The stresses and strains on America's economy in 1947 make the problems of 1933 simple by comparison. "Terror is the order of the day." Rot! The nub seems to be that Mr. Johnson does not like the idea of purging Communists and other disloyal persons from the State Department.

"The President of the United States demands an appropriation of $25,000,000 to delouse the government service of traitors, who must have been put there by his own party, since it has been in power for fourteen years." This is exactly like saying that George Washington was responsible for the traitorous actions of Benedict Arnold, since Arnold was serving in Washington's army. Mr. Johnson yearns for the good old days of unrestricted freedom. So do we all. We also yearn for the days when governments did not dabble in the internal affairs of other countries — when no government dreamed of

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maintaining great fifth columns in other lands for the purposes of espionage, sabotage (political, economic, mental, or psychological and otherwise) and, eventually, conquest of the good old Peter the Great sort.

"What in the name of all that is preposterous is the basis of this frowsy idiocy?" Mr. Johnson does not suggest that Americans are taking only the most modest precautions against the kind of undermining that went on in France, Norway and elsewhere in the 1930's and is now going on all over the world, the Communists having greatly improved the Nazi Trojan horse methods. No, he justifies his heavy attacks upon the straw man he has set up ("national hysteria") with the suggestion that we are suffering from "nervous exhaustion following the emotional orgy of a great war" and other vague and questionable causes.

There is also here the wisp of a suggestion that our hatred of Hitler was an artificial, American-yokel kind of thing and that we have always got to be hating somebody; so Stalin is going to be next. This kind of frivolous self-flagellation results from a postulate implicit in Mr. Johnson's thinking — that Americans are a race apart, with traditions and a destiny wholly separate from such remote persons as Hitler, Hirohito and Stalin. No one can object if Mr. Johnson wants to don H. L. Mencken's threadbare, motheaten mantle, but one can express surprise that THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR should want to exhibit it.

Herman H. Dinsmore
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Is This Education?

Since I am neither a veteran nor an educator, perhaps I have no right to admission to your forum. Nevertheless I am an educational guinea pig of some experience, having been to seven schools, two colleges and Columbia graduate school, where I am now. So perhaps you will let me in with amateur standing.

The schools I went to ranged from superprogressive to ultra-conservative. Naturally, all of them had different theories about curricula and methods. In one school, in France, we had to memorize the textbooks verbatim. Strangely enough, at the time I did not particularly notice or compare the methods as between the different schools. Even the memorizing I did not find burdensome. But I most decidedly did notice differences between individual teachers in the same schools.

In college and graduate school, my experience has been similar. Some professors used notes, some did not. One of the most fascinating courses I ever took was a course in Dante in which the professor lectured almost entirely from his notes. In another equally fascinating literature course, the teacher spent most of her time reading aloud!

My conclusions may be extreme. They are that "methodology," "educational reorganization," "curricular reorientation," etc., matter very little. What matters is that teachers be stimulating thinkers of broad cultural interests. Division of knowledge and wisdom into "curricula" and "courses" exists in catalogues much more than in life!

To my mind, the overcrowding of classes and understocking of libraries are vastly more dangerous to education and unjust to students than any of these so-called "fundamental" problems. The classes I am now attending both have very interesting teachers. But we have about one hundred and fifty students in one class, and two hundred in the other. For the larger class, the library has on the average about *ten* copies of each book on the required reading list! Of course, with classes of such a size, the meeting of minds between teacher and students, which is such a wonderfully stimulating and helpful experience to the student, is impossible. The war and the veterans are not the only reason for the size of the classes. Even before the war, college and graduate students were increasingly being grouped together in lecture courses by the university, for the sake of "economy."

I think colleges and universities should forget mechanical formulae, and spend their money and energy on getting *teachers* . . . even if classes have to meet outdoors in God's free air!

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Ritual and Reality

Leo Stein's "Ritual and Reality" in your Spring number provides the best diagnosis that I have seen of the ills of modern man. All evidence points to the hypothesis that human beings cannot go on existing in a state of slavery to unconscious impulses and habits, relieved by only brief intervals of consciousness. It is consciousness, as Mr. Stein observes, that distinguishes man from the other animals, and it is his refusal to live a fully conscious life that keeps him in his present unhappy condition.

In this connection, I should like to call the attention of your readers to an educational technique that makes it possible for anyone to bring a greater degree of conscious direction into all of his behavior, and to break what Edith Wharton once called "the habit of having habits." Unlike the technique developed by Mr. Stein, it is not too difficult in application to be practicable. It can be learned, in fact, by anyone who is willing to admit that his first responsibility in life is the control and improvement of himself. The technique to which I refer was developed by F. M. Alexander of London, and received its clearest exposition in *The Use of the Self* (1932: with an introduction by John Dewey). By observation and experiment upon himself, following a procedure which Dewey said "met all the requirements of the strictest scientific method," Alexander discovered the integrating force that directs reflex activity throughout the human organism. By bringing the operation of this force within the sphere of consciousness and by learning how to prevent its misdirection, a person gains control of a vast and hitherto unrecognized source of energy. At the same time, he provides himself with the means for "unconditioning" reflexes and habits that prove undesirable.

Having satisfied myself that Alexander's technique can be learned and also taught to others, I have often wondered why it has not had a wider appeal among intellectuals, most of whom claim to be interested in the betterment of the world. The answer must be, as Mr. Stein suggests, that the intellectual is not willing to accept a power that entails real responsibility, but prefers to remain in his present condition as long as he can lay the blame outside himself — on his heredity, his childhood experiences, his upright posture, or whatever scapegoat is currently fashionable.

Frank Pierce Jones
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And Mr. Lerner

I have just reread, in your Spring issue of the SCHOLAR, the editorial by Mr. Lerner and "Ritual and Reality" by Leo Stein.

Never before have I encountered more sincere, salient and timely moods of thought than are presented here in a single issue of your publication. The ring of conviction and concern communicated in these pages is indeed highly encouraging. It seems to me the questioning challenge we need is here — a questioning of our "smug assumptions" which omit so many aspects of the human scene of activities.

Without such insight and panoramic vision, man's nature and destiny may well remain a tragically progressive secret. To those who would penetrate that historic veil, we attribute the dignity and worth of mankind.

Robert L. Blevins
Wittenburg College
Springfield, Ohio

Mr. Jones on Dr. Solomon

Although Mr. Jones of the Blue Cross Commission, on page 382 of the 1947 Summer issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, emphasized his "desire to provide facts and constructive criticism," he appears to have offered nothing more than a specious argument against Dr. Solomon's rebuttal (page 102 of Winter 1946–47 issue).

Dr. Solomon's statement was quoted by Mr. Jones as follows: "General coverage is not possible, except at high premium rates which can be paid only by those who need relief least."

Mr. Jones's argument is herewith quoted:

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"Rates for prepaid hospitalization (Blue Cross) average $25 a year for family coverage with rates for prepaid medical/surgical coverage almost the same. That amounts to $50 a year for both, certainly not 'high premium rates.' Statistics from the Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1944–45*, indicate that slightly more than half of the families in the nation have annual incomes in excess of $1500 a year. As a nation we spent 4 per cent of income for medical care. Applying that percentage of the $1500 a year (bottom) family income figure, we come up with $60 which would indicate that more than half of the nation *can* afford prepaid hospitalization and medical/surgical coverage."

By informing us that half the families in the nation have annual incomes in excess of $1500 a year, Mr. Jones permits us to infer that the other half have incomes less than $1500 a year. Are the medical needs of half a nation to be dismissed so lightly?

When Mr. Jones states that $50 a year is "certainly not 'high premium rates,'" he is ignoring the relativity of values. $50 a year may not be much to a $10,000 a year family, whereas it constitutes a terrific chunk out of the income of a $1500 family. Upon what authority does Mr. Jones presume to determine that a family with an income of $1500 per year *can* afford an outlay of $60 per year for medical needs? With prices of food, clothing and rent at inflated levels, it is difficult to see how a family can maintain even a minimum standard of healthful living on $28 a week, aside from medical treatment, without going into debt.

Mr. Jones tells us that "as a nation we spend 4 per cent of income for medical care." But he fails to tell us how much of that 4 per cent is spent by families in the higher income brackets!

A reliable analysis of the "facts" and statistics quoted by Mr. Jones would doubtless disclose a picture far different from that presented by Mr. Jones's unscientific interpretation.

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Palestine and American Immigration

I agree heartily with Professor Rostow, whose article on "Palestine and American Immigration" appeared in your Summer 1947 issue, that America should again open her gates to immigrants. Yet I confess an inability to comprehend the author's thesis that thereby the United States will "contribute to an equitable solution in Palestine."

Numerous surveys indicate that, were illegal British barriers removed, the vast majority of Europe's remaining 1,500,000 Jews would go to Palestine. In other words, were the alternatives of America and Palestine presented, most Jews would choose the latter. Of course, even this is academic, as it is not contemplated at present to admit more than a handful. A liberal American policy could not, therefore, allay the Arab specter of being overwhelmed numerically.

The belief that a Jewish state in all of Palestine would entail a policy of repression is unfounded. For one thing, the UN exists for the purpose of preventing aggression; for another, the well-armed and disciplined Haganah is quite capable of self-defense.

Talk about partitioning Palestine overlooks the fundamental fact that this has already been done — three-fourths of the British mandate has been given illicitly to the Arabs in the form of the Kingdom of Transjordan.

Professor Rostow recognizes the futility of offering Uganda or Guiana for settlement, and the unwillingness of any nation to take in Jews, yet he fails to draw the ineluctable conclusion: Palestine must be opened to Jewish mass migration immmediately.

Certainly, America should relax her immigration barriers. But this would still leave undone the task of seeing justice done to the survivors of unparalleled brutality. They seek entrance to the Promised Land. We must insist that the mandatory power fulfill its solemn obligation.

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Portrait . . .

JOHN DEWEY

Sidney Hook

In a little more than a year from the time this is published, John Dewey will be ninety years old. His writings do not show his age. Neither does his conversation. Not once during the last twenty-five years — the period of my association with him as graduate student, colleague and friend — have I heard him reminisce about the past, or mourn the golden days when the world was young. His memory is excellent, and to sharpen a point in conversation he often freely recalls incidents from the past. But the incidents are always relevant to some present theoretical or practical concern. "I have to remind myself," he sometimes says with a smile, "that I am an old man."

No one who visits with him, or reads the articles that still come from his pen, can fail to be impressed by the contemporaneity of his interests in ideas, cultural movements and political events. He keeps abreast of the best among the new books. He has a keen appreciation of modern art. He follows the latest articles in technical periodicals like the *Journal of Philosophy*, as well as the *avant-gardiste Partisan Review*.

Dewey believes that the ideas and attitudes of literary men, confused or not, have a much greater impact upon modes of thought and feeling in our culture than those of technical philosophers — a view not altogether adequate in explaining the influence of his own philosophy. He is therefore particularly interested in what poets, novelists and literary critics are thinking. Yet he regards both philosophy and literature as far less decisive in their cultural effects than the consequences of modern science and technology. For one who has had no technical training in those fields, he is surprisingly well informed, especially in modern physics.

I do not mean to suggest by all this that Dewey has no sense of history. On the contrary. But the past for him is not a repository of standards by which achievements in the present are to be judged. It is an integral part of the substance or materials of the present. Although he looks at things with fresh eyes, it is with an awareness of what they have come out of and are leading toward. His historical perspective is reflected in his shrewd judgments, and gives his concern with events in the present a quality of distance, rather than of excitement. He has often expressed his puzzlement over the common failure to realize that against the cosmic scene man's career is still very young. The role of modern science in that career began only yesterday. He does not therefore yield easily to despair. Nor, for all his modernity, does he ever seem to be in a hurry or in a rage — qualities more in evidence among those of his critics who thunderously invoke the eternal against him. He is a sage without any of the accents or idioms of the archaic which we associate with the sages of the past. He is a sage because of his wisdom, not because of his age.

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The secret of John Dewey's amazing physical vigor which keeps him at work all day — most of it over his typewriter — is probably to be found in his heredity. But his intellectual vitality is rooted in his profound and continuing interest in all manifestations of growth. He is extremely sensitive to new insights, to new ways of looking at a problem, to all growing things — whether they are children, organizations or cultural styles. It matters little to him what patents or traditions of authority are behind these new departures, or whether they have any at all. Like everyone else, he takes delight in the finished and completely formed, but he finds even greater joy in observing and encouraging what is struggling to be born. Every stammering student who had a glimmer of an idea found a natural ally in him. His first question about someone he doesn't understand is: "What is he trying to say?"

Today, as in his teaching days, he is never impressed by criticism that is merely negative, even when it is warranted. He feels that a critic should also be an interpreter, a cooperator in a common quest, who has something of his own to contribute. "Dialectic arguments," he is fond of saying, "are too easy. The main thing is: What does a man see, and can he help us to see better?" No matter what the doctrine — even when it professes to follow his own — he distrusts pat answers, the slogans and formulas that are glibly substituted for analysis, and the type of argument that seeks merely to marshal evidence for a predetermined conclusion, accepted without consideration of its alternatives.

Strangers who have spoken or corresponded with Dewey — and their number is legion — are invariably impressed by his simplicity and intellectual humility. It borders on self-effacement, and puts one much less at ease — at the beginning — than if he were to talk and act with a greater show of assurance. Some have mistakenly attributed his manner to shyness. Dewey is not shy, as anyone can see who has observed him handle a battery of tough reporters, address a mass meeting, or take tea with solicitous schoolmarms. His simplicity reflects his belief that the other person has something worth while to say, and a deep interest in hearing it. He is completely unaware of how flattering it is — and sometimes even demoralizing — for a visitor who has come to pay homage to John Dewey to discover suddenly that Dewey is making notes on what he hears. "If it means something to Dewey, it must mean something important," is the natural, if not altogether legitimate, inference one is likely to draw in such a situation.

Dewey is a keen listener despite, or perhaps because of, his utterly relaxed state of posture, which gives the impression of physical diffidence, even of torpor. He can sit for long hours without fidgeting or restless stirring. A gleam lights up his warm brown eyes just before his slow drawl breaks in with a comment or question, or a tentatively advanced rejoinder. His very manner gives a dignity to what he hears and to those who say it.

I have often thought that one aspect of Dewey's philosophy of education can be explained in terms of his essential courtesy to others, of his respect for the dignity of every person, including the growing child. Not to impose an arbitrary pattern upon anyone, to observe and protect the individual's uniqueness, to encourage responsible choices, to evoke an awareness of the discipline of things, of thought, of the social involvements and duties of a democratic community, to substitute the authority of impersonal method for that of institutions and leaders — what else do these commandments of progressive education add up to but respect for the dignity of the human being?

This attitude, when wedded to deep natural kindness, sometimes — in Dewey's case, rather often — leads to overgenerous praise of individuals and their work. His comments and blurbs on books, his letters of recommendation, are apt to be uncritical. Yet they are perfectly sincere — like the judgments of friends and parents who see potentialities where others do not. If he cannot speak well of something or someone, he would rather not speak at all. There are exceptions, of course. He can be dialectically fierce with even gifted philosophers when he detects a note of insincerity or exhibitionism in their argument. But he is never devastating to

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mediocrity — which is sometimes regrettable. The nearest I have ever heard him come to calling a man downright stupid was his reference to a professional do-gooder who couldn't tell a Communist from a democrat, as "not very discriminating."

What is there about the ideas of John Dewey, this mild man who looks like the identical twin of so many retired Vermont farmers, to make him one of the great cultural influences of our time? Why do liberals and progressives naturally gravitate toward his views? Why is he hated so wholeheartedly by clerical authoritarians, by Fascists, Nazis, and Communists?

Before offering an answer, it should be pointed out that Dewey has exercised far less influence on professional philosophers as a whole than on the non-philosophic public of professionals. For good or for evil, no American philosopher has affected so vitally the doctrines and thought-ways of jurists, sociologists, psychologists, educators, social workers and a whole miscellany of investigators and practitioners on the borderlines of the separate disciplines. Where academic philosophers have remained largely mystified and puzzled about Dewey's philosophy, reflective individuals in the arts and sciences and professions have found it both intelligible and helpful.

The standing difficulty most philosophers have with Dewey's philosophy arises from his concept of "experience," which departs radically from traditional concepts. Dewey complains that they always translate what he says about experience into their own conceptions of experience. These have been framed in terms of mentalistic psychology, according to which an experience is a private, psychical event, and the common public world something to be speculatively inferred or logically construed. Non-philosophers approach Dewey's concept of experience more nearly in the sense he gives it — as an objective transaction between a live thing and its environment. They test what he says in terms of the experiences in which they are actually engaged, and find that Dewey's ideas have a bearing on their problems and their methods of handling them. His theory of experience makes clearer to them what they are actually doing, and what they could do. Occasions of action, treated as matters of habit and routine, emerge as fresh challenges.

In working out the details of his theory of experience, Dewey has been moved by three considerations. The findings of modern biology and psychology and medicine have led him to stress the activity of the organism as a whole in its response to environing conditions, and the selective character of that response. Second, fortified by anthropological evidence, he has interpreted culture as a set of selective, institutional controls upon nature, physical and human. Third, he has observed the place and use of instruments, among which are language and the organs of the body, in the growth of our knowledge and in the control of nature and society. The upshot of his theory is the conclusion that "everything experienced is in part made what it is because there enters into it a way of experiencing something."

For ordinary modes of experience — painting, eating, loving — this is not hard to see. The modes of experience are distinguished from each other by operations which affect the object experienced in specifiable ways. But for Dewey, knowing, too, is an experience which mediates between other experiences. It, too, leads to operations upon things and symbols. It involves some *experimental* act before we can claim to be in possession of reliable knowledge. And that experimental act leaves the objective situation — the world which challenges us to inquiry — different in some respect from what it was before it was known. That is what Dewey means when he says that thought is "practical" — not, as he is often caricatured as maintaining, that thought is necessarily personally useful or convenient. Thinking is meaningful reconstruction of experience. Such reconstruction involves activity or practice.

The difficulties and paradoxes of this view are the source of most of the technical philosophical controversies which have arisen over Dewey's doctrines. My point here is that Dewey's doctrines owe their wide popular acceptance to his explanation of how and

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why thinking counts in the world, of how and why reflective behavior makes a difference to the issue of events. Everyone professes to believe that thinking is effective in the world. But in terms of traditional philosophical dualisms between mind and matter, the actual consequences of thinking or not thinking in the world cannot be made even remotely plausible. Dewey's doctrine has the merit of making sense of ordinary experience, and of suggesting ways by which that experience can be controlled and enriched. This is why, despite its extremely technical character and its difficulties, theoretical and terminological, intelligent laymen seem more sympathetic to it than to any other contemporary philosophy.

To the extent that the consequences of thinking or not thinking have a bearing on what is better or worse in human affairs, we are morally responsible for those states of affairs. So long as there are choices and alternatives, man is free. Man as a natural creature is never absolutely free because some compulsions are indefeasible to his very existence, but through thought — as well as the social conditions which permit maximum freedom of thought — and through the reconstructions of experience to which thought leads, man increases both his freedom and responsibility.

Dewey's interest seems closer to the actual problems of men than do those of other contemporary philosophers, even when he is discussing traditional problems of philosophy. The starting point of philosophers like Feuerbach, Marx, Heidegger and the French existentialists who depart from concrete situations of human need seem hauntingly familiar to readers of Dewey. Dewey is sympathetic to their attempts to relate the problems of philosophy to the problems of men. But he differs from all existentialists, past and present, in that he believes that genuine problems exist to be settled, not agonized over; that problems can be settled, if at all, not by acts of spontaneous violence, but by intelligence; that the method of intelligence is the method of scientific inquiry in its widest sense; and that science and freedom are not hostile, but mutually support each other.

Dewey's proposal that all problems of human experience be approached in the spirit and logic of our most developed body of knowledge, natural science, provokes strong opposition to him from different quarters for different reasons. Most professional philosophers believe that this involves a renunciation of the whole philosophical enterprise, and a failure to realize that the canons of scientific validity must themselves receive warrant in the light of a comprehensive philosophical method. To this Dewey's retort is that philosophy has a distinctive subject matter, the analysis of the basic problems of value and value-conflicts of our time. "Its perennial concern is quest for wisdom." But he denies that philosophy has a distinctive method of validating anything, and that there is any other *kind* of truth than the plain garden variety of truth which scientific methods alone can secure. Dewey sees the decline of philosophy, not in the view that its methods must be scientific, but in the view that value-judgments have no cognitive status whatsoever — that it is meaningless to apply the predicates of truth or falsity in any of their degrees to judgments of worth or worthlessness.

The doctrine that the processes of scientific inquiry constitute the matrix out of which all reliable beliefs about ends as well as means are to be generated, is anathema to those who give ecclesiastical or political institutions a privileged role in social life. The validity of human ends and the means of achieving them depend not on the authority of the College of Cardinals or the Communist Politbureau, but solely on the authority of rational scientific methods of testing our values in experience. It goes without saying that any view which holds that man has an absolute supernatural end to which he owes first allegiance, and in whose light he must organize his natural life, will find Dewey's devotion to the critical methods of science an abomination. Dewey's philosophy, particularly in the field of education, is public enemy number one to all varieties of theological fundamentalism.

The hostility of the Communists against Dewey borders on the frenetic. Two recent extended articles denouncing him in the

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Moscow *Bolshevik* (March and July, 1947) are composed in the language of Vishinsky. They indicate that not all who cry "Science! Science!" are free from superstition and barbarous repression of inquiry. Dewey's proposal to test the validity of all social ideals — our own as well as Franco's and Stalin's — by the actual consequences of the *means* used to achieve them, appears to the Communist Party philosophers a clear case of "imperialistic warmongering."

The opposition to Dewey by the Communists can be explained in the same general terms as their opposition to democratic varieties of socialism, which they hate worse than any of their totalitarian rivals. Dewey has, in the eyes of the Communists, compounded his ideological felonies by his public criticism of the Russian domestic reign of terror in all fields of culture. He is one of the few American philosophers who have made a detailed study of the Communist movement at home and abroad. In 1937 he interrupted the writing of his monumental *Logic* to accept the chairmanship of the committee of inquiry into the truth of the Moscow trials, which held sessions in New York and Mexico City. The task was arduous, and many speculated on the reason which led him to embark on it. The reason was characteristic — a desire to investigate the truth at first hand about one of the most important political movements in the world. I still recall his amusement when a representative of the Russian regime suddenly visited him a few days before the hearings were scheduled to begin, and asked him to head another trip to the Soviet Union — "all expenses paid — best traveling conditions to and in Russia" — to report on the educational system he had previously inspected in 1927. The incident hardened his determination to go through with his investigations. His findings are well known.

While in Mexico his intestinal fortitude stood him in good stead not only in withstanding an international campaign of vilification, but in repulsing the germs of amoebic dysentery which laid low his fellow commissioners and all of their entourage. The Mexicans marveled at his stamina, poise and good humor, as the Chinese had done years before. Dewey often refers to the whole experience as one of the most educational and enjoyable in his long life. Whenever he engages himself in a struggle for a large issue, he proves to be an indomitable fighter and surprises those who have mistaken his gentleness for softness. The followers of Leon Trotsky were dismayed when he subsequently declared that although Trotsky was completely innocent of the charges made against him at the Moscow trials, the social philosophies of both Trotsky and Stalin had more in common with each other than with the principles of democracy and free scientific inquiry.

There is still another type of reaction to Dewey's unqualified faith in the liberating possibilities of science. It comes from philosophers, some of whom, like Bertrand Russell, share Dewey's liberal views, and some of whom, like George Santayana, do not. They suggest that Dewey's faith in knowledge and science is a kind of power-philosophy which breathes a spirit of "cosmic impiety." According to them, there is not enough of the spirit of play and resignation in his conception of man and his role in the universe. Man is always up and doing, too much in the foreground of nature, oblivious to the pitiful fate which must overtake him, no matter how much of the world he succeeds in controlling.

Dewey is almost eloquent when he comments on criticisms of this character. He wants to know what problems we ought to meet with play or resignation — the control of depressions, of nuclear energy, of cancer? He wants to know, echoing a Spinozistic line, how else nature can be controlled, than by natural means? He admits that his philosophy is for human beings who are born to problems, but adds that for most human beings life, unfortunately, is one problem after another. Problems cannot be resolved through play or acquiescence. What one needs for play, he holds, is not a philosophy, but a healthy body and a good conscience. Insofar as we accept a life which is problematic — "sufficient unto the day is the acquiescence thereof."

For Dewey, the refreshening experiences, the absorptions and detachments of delight,

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the sense of joyous exhilaration necessary to sustain a life of problems, is derived from art and love, not traditional religion. The romantic pessimism which mourns man's finitude is a vain lament that we are not gods. I remember his once saying that Russell and Santayana wanted him to sit and hold the hand of the universe, and that he saw no point in striking an attitude toward the cosmos. Cosmic piety is possible without sentimental glorification of nature, or acquiescence in every brute fact just because it is so. As deep as his optimism may be, it falls far short of the silly dream of remaking the world completely. However, there will always be, he adds dryly, a few, but important, things that will need changing.

Natural piety is not of necessity either a fatalistic acquiescence in natural happenings or a romantic idealization of the world. It may rest upon a just sense of nature as the whole of which we are parts, while it also recognizes that we are parts that are marked by intelligence and purpose, having the capacity to strive by their aid to bring conditions into greater consonance with what is humanly desirable. Such piety is an inherent constituent of a just perspective in life.

John Dewey's belief in the processes of science, of democracy, and of cultural freedom makes him appear a little "old-fashioned" to a generation which has rediscovered Augustine and Calvin; which knows, or thinks it knows, that democracy is just a myth by which an élite in power manipulates the masses; and which writes off cultural freedom as too costly a luxury to survive in a planned society. These old-fashioned beliefs are more easily surrendered by those who inherited them than by those who know what they mean because they had to fight for them — because they had to win their right to belief in them, and to disbelief in the parochial prejudices they displaced. Dewey would deny that, properly understood, his beliefs are old-fashioned. He regards them as full of revolutionary promise; but, revolutionary or not, as true — and as constituting the most valid way of life for modern man. Aware of the difficulties in following them, his allegiance still remains firm. For he knows that the alternatives to these beliefs involve still greater difficulties, and consequences that are gruesome for mankind.

Seen in the perspective of our historical experience, the philosophy of John Dewey represents the most distinctive expression of the American liberal faith. It articulates its good will, its hard headedness and imaginative daring. It recognizes that only through the fusion of all three elements embodied in programs for domestic and international reconstruction can we survive as a free culture in a free world.

This is the fourth in the series of AMERICAN SCHOLAR PORTRAITS. Others will follow from time to time.

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UNDER WHATEVER SKY

Irwin Edman

Homesick for Heaven

The nostalgia industry is growing by leaps and bounds. In plays, in novels, in autobiographies and softly retrospective histories, our eyes are asked to wander back over fairer vistas only a generation old, but now psychologically a part of pre-history.

It is coming to appear now that just around the turn of the century the most comfortable forms of bliss were epidemic. Magic carpets in the form of bicycles enabled one to ride, with decent slowness, moderate distances through unspoilt countryside. There were huge dinners, punctuated halfway through by Roman punch, to give a cooling interval so that one could apply oneself freshly to the second part of the grandiose meal. Gentlemen — and little boys — wore proper stiff collars. Street cars clattered deliciously along cobblestoned streets. Life was uncorrupted by ice cubes, automobiles, subways. There were no income taxes (or social security); there were no noisy airplanes overhead — also, it must be admitted, no penicillin or sulfa drugs.

Obviously even the most nostalgic, when pressed, will make two admissions: if they are old enough actually to remember, they recall many of the discomforts and inconveniences of a now softly fabled past; they know also, as many a middle-class child knew when occasionally he passed through slums, that the notion of universal security and serenity was a myth for all but the comfortable classes — and a myth, too, for some members of those classes. Around 1900, even the small boy could detect the tensions and insecurities in a so-called "happy family." We did not have the language of Freud to help us understand in those days, but there were other languages of understanding simpler and not altogether simple minded.

There is more than one variety of historical homesickness — the heart, disenchanted with the present, has turned back to the Middle Ages, to Greece, to the Garden of Eden. But the current mode is a yearning for the immediate past. The last generation is gilded in the memories of those who spent their childhood in it. It is aureoled also for younger people, who trustingly believe the sentimental tales of their elders, and are quite ready to agree that fifty years ago must certainly have been better than the present, and at least could not be worse. It is perfectly clear that around 1900 nobody except eccentric fanatics thought the world might be coming to an end any minute. The insane dreams of a generation ago have become standard sanity now.

At all times of desperation and crisis, people have had to look to "a world elsewhere." It might as well be the world of yesterday. A dreamed-of heaven may be placed anywhere, any time. Yesterday is as good a spot for Heaven as tomorrow, and Utopia, perhaps to the surprise of those who remember Lot's wife, is sometimes most vividly seen by a backward glance.

Now What on Earth For?

I saw a personal advertisement the other day — I really did — which called for "an astrologer, young, who speaks French and is willing to travel."

At odd moments I have tried to imagine for what on earth was such a singularly equipped individual required? I have speculated on the matter briefly at the end of a long day, when it was impossible to think more responsibly on more urgent matters.

The lanes of travel are relatively open again, and it occurs to me that some wealthy, retired financier whose whole fortune had been made under the guidance of astrologers at moments of crisis (the idea is not fantastic; in the twenties many eminent Wall Street financiers were reputed to consult astrologers) now wished to spend a year or two in traveling around the globe. Since income taxes in the higher income brackets are what they are, even a retired tycoon cannot afford

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to take along one of the expensive, well-established astrologers. Doubtless he hoped to find some young man in the profession whose rates were still reasonable and who would enjoy a year or two of travel. And since the astrologer will surely be vigorous as well as young, he may also serve as a courier, and in primitive parts of the world even be able to protect his patron in moments of physical danger.

The matter of the French requirement continued to puzzle me for a while. Why *must* the astrologer speak French, which is no longer, in the old eighteenth-century sense, the universal language? I have finally arrived at an explanation of that prerequisite too; my financier had at the end of his junior year in Yale spent a summer in France, and had come to be able to spell out the menus and make himself understood by taxi drivers. He had reached the conclusion that French was a very elegant language, and someday he would give himself an opportunity to practice it. He had, indeed, gone to the Berlitz School for a year in his youth. It occurred to me that he might have simplified matters by advertising for a French astrologer, but he was a modest man and he felt that *his* French was not good enough really for a Frenchman. Now, a young astrologer who could speak French was exactly what was required. Hence, I am sure, the advertisement.

Having decided which, I found myself reenergized for serious work.

On Advantages Not Taken

Once last summer, while I was living for a few weeks in a small prairie town in Montana, I ruminated a little bit on all the things in New York I should be missing were I fated to live away from it always: the concerts, the interesting visitors always turning up, the theaters, the exhilaration of gossip about all the kinds of work and play that go on in a metropolis, the occasional parties, or dinners, the sharpening give-and-take of an international center. An English novelist, a South African philosopher, a Portuguese soprano — one never knows whom one is going to meet next in New York.

As for music and the theater, quite apart from the routine programs of the symphony orchestras and the Broadway playhouses, there are the series of "little concerts, chamber music, and Spanish guitarists, and neglected Bach cantatas put on by small churches, and the latest existentialist drama provided by an experimental theater. And the French and British movies, and the innumerable art exhibitions on 57th Street. I thanked God I was not geographically placed like other men.

Now, in the midst of the ordinary obligations of the working year in New York, I still think of all these wonderful opportunities and the number of them — the majority of them, in fact — which I shall be missing. It is something, of course, to be practically right around the corner from all the stimulation of art and music and society in the greatest city in the world. It is a wry pleasure to be so closely reminded of all that one is missing. Or *is* it a pleasure at all? There is said to be a strain about life in New York. I think I'm beginning to see now what it is. In Montana I should not be torn in one evening between the Ballet Theatre and three Beethoven quartets — or work.

Is There Any News?

"Is there any news?" How many times I have been asked that over the telephone by old friends. My answer depends very little on the general state of the world: I know that isn't what is being inquired about. What a friend wants when he asks such a question is what has happened in our little mutual world. Deaths, marriages, books published or completed — or projected — jobs acquired or old ones relinquished. The answer I actually make doesn't even have much to do with the amount of news current in the parochial cosmos in which the inquirer and I both live. It depends almost completely on my own state of well being. There are days when even the tiniest events seem shining with interest, and the smallest trivia fit to repeat as if one were conferring a revelation. But there are wintry days, too, when, crack my brains as I will, I can find nothing that anyone will, by a remote stretch of good will, want to hear, or anything I can manage to tell without yawning.

"No, no news," I say, "nothing at all; everything about as usual," on the very day that a radio announcer tells of a rocket plane,

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of the increasing threat of war, of hurricane in the Caribbean and famine in China. But then, those things are in essence, I suppose, not news. There have always been wars and rumors of wars. Some day though, when the phone rings, it would be nice to be able to say breathlessly, "But of *course!* Haven't you heard? The millennium, coming tomorrow. But I'll tell you about it when I see you. How about lunch, at the club, 12:15?"

Far Away and Long Ago

The letter in an unfamiliar handwriting said that I probably did not recall the writer, but that twenty years ago in Switzerland at Pontresina she, then a young girl, and I had spent the afternoon discussing Plotinus and neo-Platonic philosophy, about which she had known nothing and which she did not very much understand, and in which, as she said, she had not pretended any particular interest. I tried desperately hard to remember the girl, the occasion and the circumstances under which I would have spent a whole afternoon talking about Plotinus with someone who was not in the least interested. Try as I would, I could not recollect. There was a period, I remember, when I had just discovered that intellectual mystic, and was trying to convert some of my positivistic and materialistic friends to a perception of his wisdom. But what I must have thought I was doing in the beautiful upland meadows of the Engadine, explaining Plotinus to a bored young lady, I cannot imagine. She claimed in her letter not to have been bored, and I suppose that is what she claimed at the time. I am sure that is why I spent the afternoon explaining the author of the idea that the height of felicity was "To be Alone with the Alone." It was really very rude of me.

Variation from a Theme

The seventeen-year-old boy had come to me partly at his own instigation and partly on that of his father, a house painter. I had not looked forward too much to the interview for, as I understood it, it was something about entering college and something, also, about a poor high school record. I did not anticipate with pleasure the prospect of having to tell the young man it was hard enough to get into a good college — or any college — with a poor high school record at any time, but especially so these days.

The youth came in, looking shy and troubled and rather winning in a not too brilliant way.

"Ah, he knows," I said to myself, "that he is asking help in a rather difficult matter."

He was asking aid, but not about what I expected. "Could you help me," he said earnestly, soon after we began talking, "to persuade my parents that I *oughtn't* to go to college?"

The habits of a lifetime made me, almost automatically, start to remind him of the values of a liberal education, about how important the great books were, about what a resource it was in time of trouble and unhappiness to have the arts and science and philosophy as a refuge. I glanced at him and checked myself. It was a safe bet he had already had some experience in the great books, had already been bored to death by Hamlet and Macbeth and Homer, had had a chance over WQXR to feed his soul on Beethoven and Mozart — and had already rejected these golden opportunities. Who was I to urge him to have some more stuffed down his throat? It turned out in the course of further conversation that what the boy wanted desperately to be was a dental technician, and that the thought of college was nothing less than revolting to him. His parents, I gathered, felt very strongly that he should have the blessings of higher education, even though he found them a curse.

The situation put a college teacher in an embarrassing spot. "In the confidence of this room," I felt like saying, "don't go to college. Stick by your guns. Be a pure and unsullied dental technician. Don't let them force a higher life upon you. But don't tell anybody I said so." Instead, I was academically fair-minded. In the best tradition of the noncommittal, I pointed out the advantages of both sides, knowing the colleges' admissions offices would probably settle the boy's problem for him.

One never knows what ripples one's falling pebble will cause. A few days later I met the boy's father. "My boy wants to come to see you again," he said. "He says you made college sound very nice."

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The Revolving Bookstand

In Search of a Philosophy of History

Stanley W. Newburger

Puritanism and Democracy, by Ralph Barton Perry. New York: The Vanguard Press. 1944. $5.00.
Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, by Joseph Schumpeter. New York: Harper & Bros. 1947. $3.50.
The Struggle for the World, by James Burnham. New York: The John Day Company. 1947. $2.00.
The Poetry of History, by Emery Neff. New York: Columbia University Press. 1947. $3.50.
The Meeting of East and West, by F. S. C. Northrop. New York: Macmillan. 1946. $6.00.
A Study of History, by Arnold J. Toynbee. New York and London: Oxford University Press. 1947. $5.00.

The nineteenth century explored the origin and growth of civilizations; the twentieth has been preoccupied with their disintegration. The theme of moral and social regeneration is common to these books, and each offers a plan of salvation. The discussion tends to go on in terms of *the* philosophy of history which will provide us with an orderly synthesis of the basic values of our national life. Being the diverse, eclectic society we are, however, the working philosophy of the United States is likely to remain decidedly tentative and pluralistic. Yet there are sufficient indications on our intellectual horizon of an increasing awareness that the roughly experimental philosophy by which we have lived — that of human nature and power, without definite commitments to the future — is a luxury we can no longer afford. This is doubtless a mild and non-belligerent form of the conviction which Catholics, Marxists and Fascists in Europe alike share — that salvation from a life bedeviled by conflict and insecurity lies in the imposition of a unified ethos and a fixed scheme of values on everybody else. The difference is due to circumstance rather than virtue, and offers no occasion for self-congratulation.

There is little tendency to overvalue our present moral estate in R. B. Perry's *Puritanism and Democracy*. He appraises our heritage not out of piety alone but as a body of well-tried rules which need to be examined for their present utility. What we need above all is to make up our national mind, and in the two complex and complementary patterns of conduct which Perry calls puritanism and democracy he finds the means for such an integration.

Puritanism's essential meaning is the demand for moral sensitivity, responsiveness to the rights of others, awareness of guilt and the repentant desire for forgiveness. Puritanism sharply distinguishes the moral and social man from the natural man, and places the moral struggle, the effort to live responsibly and cooperatively, at the center of human experience. The sense of drift and aimlessness, the promiscuity and shallow optimism of our age, are fundamentally the fruits of its neglect. Without the training in discipline and devotion that comes from loyalty to an ethics of duty, we lack the will to solve our problems.

Democracy is the natural complement and corrective of puritanism. It means the liberation and fulfillment of "man's spontaneous interests and sociability as setting limits to discipline and constituting its only justification." To reject the democratic imperative leads to atavism and obscurantism, to privilege masking itself behind authoritarian and collectivist doctrines.

For Perry, this double allegiance to the life of reason and the life of conscience is the essence of that moral liberalism which is the

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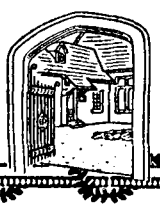

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true legacy of Christianity and the Enlightenment. We have to rediscover it and incorporate it more widely and effectively in our culture. Such allegiance to reason and conscience not only leads to a belief in social democracy, but alone can make its realization possible. For what the advent of a social democracy realizing the promise of our heritage will demand of us in restraint, tolerance and self-sacrifice, Perry sets forth with searching irony.

"It would be fatuous," he writes, "to shut our eyes to the fact that social democracy will have to be paid for. Most of those who read these words would lose materially by a more equal distribution of opportunity and attainment. . . . Without some previous self-discipline we shall many of us greet its dawn with a wry face. But insofar as we have learned to live more austerely . . . we may in the time to come have the heart to be cheerful despite the realization of the ideal to which we profess our devotion."

How much which passes for reasoned argument against a planned society is actually an expression of such failure in disciplined sensitivity to the needs of others? Can one expect groups now rising to power to show more restraint? Perry states the most pressing problem of our age, the achievement of adequate techniques of cooperation, with sober clarity and freedom from wishful illusion. By treating reason and conscience as the necessary presuppositions of moral conduct, rather than as eventuating out of shared behavior, he also makes the problem insoluble. Shared interests and cooperation are just as real as individual interests and competitive conduct. There is nothing in the nature of our individuality that prevents as spontaneous and voluntary an identification with altruistic kinds of conduct as with the most self-centered.

That the problem is much more difficult than socialists have dreamed is the argument of Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Schumpeter is keenly aware of the instrumental character of all economic and political arrangements. They can promote a peaceful and liberal life only if the culture in which they operate is peaceful and liberal. Yet instrumentalities as complex as the apparatus of our economy have an inertia and determination of their own, and the socialist system which Schumpeter thinks we are likely to get is going to look very much like a vast extension of monopoly business and labor management, with all the difficulties for democratic control such a system will present. Since the demands that such a coordinated economy will make on all groups in discipline and restraint exceed anything we can reasonably expect on democratic past performances, Schumpeter argues that the temptation to accept an authoritarian solution will be very great.

These conclusions rest on the argument that a state-managed socialist economy is inevitable in advanced industrial countries. Reversing the Marxist conception, Schumpeter argues that capitalism by its very success destroys those social institutions on which it rests, producing new conditions which progressively fetter its operation until it is superseded altogether. Thus, as corporations and monopolies grow in size and complexity, capitalism progressively weakens respect for the institution of private property and the self-respect of middle class leadership. By promoting belief in emulation and success, it creates a vested interest in social unrest and the very needs which demand a socialist order for their fulfillment. Why, after all, has the defense of the capitalist order been so half-hearted? "Because the bourgeois order no longer makes any sense to the bourgeoisie itself."

This is an extremely rigorous and widely informed analysis of the difficulties we face. Yet a greater sensitivity to the enormous waste of potential good will and creative ability in the confusions and frustrations of an unplanned economy might have led to a more generous estimate of our capacities for cooperation and responsibility in a socialist economy. There is more than a hint in Schumpeter's attitude of the deep conservatism and distrust of labor and intellectuals characteristic of disillusioned socialists.

But, for a blatant example of the kind of realism that comes from a passionate desire never to be so flagrantly deluded again, one must offer Burnham's *Struggle for the World*. "I have not ceased to marvel each year at

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the fool I had been the year before," wrote Arthur Koestler — apropos of his own successive disillusionments with leftist dogma. Burnham betrays no such misgivings. A former Marxist, Burnham has retracted with typical violence and apocalyptic fervor. The economic and political unification of the world is coming as the inevitable consequence of science and technology, of which the atom bomb is both a symbol and a decisive factor. But Marxists and liberals alike err in imagining this unifying process must late or soon produce a democratic world community. Our cultural divisions are too tenacious, our need for peace and security at all costs too insistent, our capacities for cooperation too rudimentary. It follows that unification will be achieved by military conquest and domination. Since there exist only two power centers adequate to this task, the only real choice before us is whether our government or the Soviet Union's shall end by being master of a world empire.

The premise is essentially Hobbes's. Accept Burnham's assumption that the power-drive is decisive in politics, and that any group or nation which tries living by a contrary code is headed for servitude or destruction — and his argument for an American world empire is as unanswerable as Hobbes's contention that any political authority which brings peace ought to be obeyed, because this is all politics can achieve in any case. To react from an idealism which is blind to the tremendous difficulties of achieving adequate cooperative arts, by elevating admitted difficulties into absolute obstacles in the name of science and realism, is a high price to pay for security from disappointment and from nothing else.

In the course of an informed and lucid account of the major changes which the interpretation of history has undergone in the past two centuries, Emery Neff's *The Poetry of History* shows how the present gulf between our social sciences and our moral and political theory developed — this divorce which makes it possible for a worship of success and power, and whatever promises to be the wave of the future, to pass itself off as scientific objectivity. The historical and social sciences have accumulated factual

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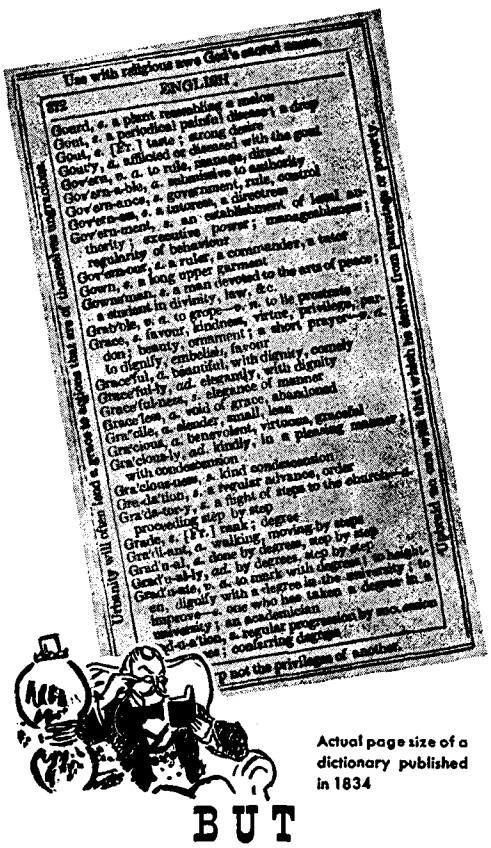

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It is an unconscious parody because, though there is nothing startling about such imperial ambitions as Northrop's in philosophy (being commonplace features of the Marxist and neo-Thomist cults), Northrop clearly conceives himself as working within a naturalistic, experimental and anti-authoritarian tradition. The adequacy of Northrop's account of how we attain valid knowledge is irrelevant to this discussion because it is irrelevant to the moral and political problems he sets out to solve. Yet on the basis of a theory of knowledge, this book quite literally claims to present at least the main outlines of a universally valid theory of man and nature. "All that is required," Northrop

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ceptual apparatus for explaining the decline of civilizations, but it makes the idea of a growing, healthy society, where freedom is effectively shared, a veritable miracle — the gratuitous gift of divinely inspired leadership.

The truth is that to look in Toynbee's work for a comprehensive diagnosis of the malady of our age, as present discussion of his study tends to do, is to make demands of his enterprise which it was never meant to fulfill. Certainly it fixes attention on the most dubious and least original aspects of his analysis to the neglect of its monumental virtues — a tremendously suggestive comparative study of cultures based on prodigious learning, revealing a combination of bold imagination and comprehensive vision — one approached only by Spengler in our time, but with a critical reserve and acutely sensitive awareness of the nuances of style and tone in cultures which make Spengler's methods seem violent and crude. There is nothing in Toynbee of Spengler's intoxication by the spectacle of the inexorable rhythm of societies, those great Leviathans which rise out of the abyss of existence, run their allotted and isolated courses, and sink back at last, exhausted, beneath the waters. The romantic nihilism that prompted Spengler to glory in this unqualified biological determinism, to proclaim the rigid senescence of our Iron Age, and to welcome its Caesarism and brutality, is utterly foreign to Toynbee's empirical and humane temper.

The temptation to seek a radical prophecy in Toynbee's epic account of the careers of twenty-one civilizations — sixteen dead and five ailing seriously, like our own — is nevertheless almost irresistible. Verbally Toynbee denies the biological fatalism of Spengler, but it is forced upon him by the determinist logic of his approach to society and history. For, as Toynbee aptly expresses it, there is an inherent "nemesis of creativity" in all social life. The one wholly predictable thing about the basic rhythm of challenge and response is that sooner or later the response will be inadequate to the challenge, and there will begin a cumulative reversal of the process of growth. Then the vital creative impulse becomes ever more encrusted by custom and routine. Creative leadership and cooperative loyalty give way to domination and mechanical obedience. Fruitful insight in the arts and sciences is congealed into dogma. The inevitable result is a society paralyzed by its conflicts and its futilities, helplessly awaiting some new creative group from within or without to build a new civilization on its ruins.

Is this the inexorable end? Or can we restore our creativity and escape the grim "elemental rhythm" which holds us bound? That a mind of Toynbee's stature, for

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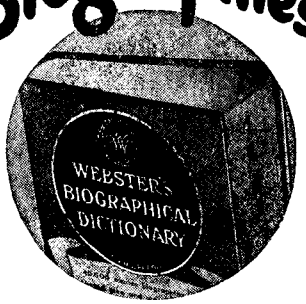

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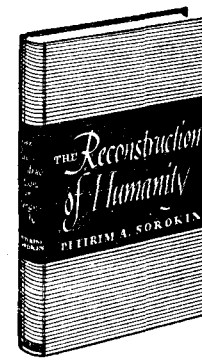

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